PLUTARCH's LIVES

IN

EIGHT VOLUMES.

Tranſlated from the GREEK.

To which is prefixed,

The LIFE *of* PLUTARCH,

Written by Mr. DRYDEN.

LONDON:

Printed for J. and R. TONSON and S. DRAPER in the *Strand.*

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PREFACE.

THE Reader is here presented with a new Edition of Plutarch's Lives translated from the Greek into English, with such Alterations, Amendments, and Additions, as We have Reason to hope will render it more Useful, as well as Entertaining than the Former.

When this Work was first undertaken, the Gentlemen, who generously engaged in it, had not those Helps and Advantages, with which the learned World is at present supplied. Had That been the Case, it is not to be questioned but they wou'd have succeeded much better in Their Hands, than We can presume to think they have done in Ours. The Greek Editions then Extant abounded with Errors, Many of them so gross, that in some Places Plutarch was become absurd, and contradictory, and in

Others unintelligible. This Evil has in a great Meaſure been remedied by the Care and Accuracy of ſome modern Editors, who have with much Diligence conſulted the moſt authentick Manuſcripts, and had Recourſe to Perſons of the greateſt Learning and Judgment.

And yet notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, We ſhould be very ungrateful to the Memory of the late M. Dacier, *if We did not acknowledge that without the Lights and Aſſiſtances we have borrowed from Him, the preſent Undertaking would have been very lame and imperfect. As that Gentleman had with great Labour and Induſtry rendered the* Greek *Learning in all its ſeveral Branches natural and familiar to him, ſo doth he ſeem in a more diſtinguiſhing manner to have been delighted with* Plutarch. *He, next to* Plato, *was his favourite Author: Him he converſed with moſt, and made Him his particular Study. He has endeavoured with more Care, to enter into the true Senſe and Meaning of* Plutarch, *and ſucceeded better in it, than any of the Commentators and Interpreters that went before him. He was a Man of too nice a Taſte, and too inquiſitive a Temper, to be bound*

up

up implicitly by Them; on the contrary, he has on many Occaſions diſſented from them All, and given a new Senſe to his Author, which however he doth not do without laying down his Reaſons for it. Where thoſe Reaſons appear ſtrong and convincing We have followed his Authority, but where they ſeem to be leſs cogent and deciſive We have left the Senſe as We found it. Of This ſeveral Inſtances might be produced, but to mention it is ſufficient. Upon the Whole it muſt be confeſſed, that to Him it is owing if Plutarch *makes a better Appearance in* French *than any other of the modern Languages.*

The Reader will find in this Edition ſome of the Compariſons, which were omitted in the Former. For Inſtance, That of Alcibiades *with* Coriolanus, *of* Demetrius *with* Antonius, *and of* Demoſthenes *with* Tully. *Beſides Theſe, the Injury of Time has deprived us of four of the Originals, and they happen to be four of the moſt Conſiderable,* viz. *Thoſe of* Themiſtocles *with* Camillus, *of* Pyrrhus *with* C. Marius, *of* Alexander *with* Cæſar, *and of* Phocion *with* Cato *of* Utica. *Theſe have been ſupplied in* French *by M.* Dacier, *and We have ventured to tranſlate Them*

likewiſe

likewiſe into Engliſh, *from a Perſuaſion that it wou'd not be unacceptable to the Reader to behold a Modern, ſuch as* Dacier, *ſeat himſelf in his Maſter's Chair, and perſonate that great Philoſopher and Hiſtorian.*

The Reader will likewiſe find frequent mention of the different ſpecies of Coin, as they were ſeverally in uſe among the Greeks *and* Romans. *We have generally avoided crouding the Margin by a Reduction thereof to an* Engliſh *Valuation, thinking it ſufficient to give ſome brief Explanation of it, as we ſhall now do in the Preface, leaving the Reader to exerciſe his own Pen in the Uſe and Application.*

The firſt Piece we meet with in the following Lives is a Coin of Theſeus, *Vol. I. p.* 76. *which he cauſed to be ſtamped with the Image of an Ox, for the Reaſons there given, or to preſerve the Memory of the ancient way of Commerce, which was carried on by Truck, or an Exchange of Cattle. This Piece was equal in Value to two* Drachmas. *The loweſt* Grecian *Coin we find in* Plutarch *is an* Obolus, *valued at one Penny Farthing, and the Sixth part of a Farthing, ſix of which made a* Drachma, *equal to ſeven Pence three Farthings. Of Theſe, Four may be ſaid to make*

make a Silver Stater, *and Twenty five One of the ſame Denomination in Gold. But no certain Value can be put upon thoſe* Staters, *nor are they often mentioned in* Plutarch. *The next Denomination is a* Mina, *which conſiſted of a Hundred* Drachmæ, *as a Talent did of ſixty* Minæ. *Theſe being the Denominations of the* Grecian *Money chiefly to be met with in* Plutarch, *it will not be improper to lay before the Reader the following Table.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
1 Obolus *makes*	00	0	1	1/6
6 Oboli *make a* Drachma	00	0	7	3/4
4 Drachmæ *a* Tetradrachm, *or* Stater.	00	2	7	
100 Drachmæ, *or* 25 Staters, *a* Mina.	03	4	7	
60 Minæ *a Talent.*	193	15	0	

According to M. Dacier *a Talent of Gold was anciently reckoned equal in Value to ten Talents of Silver, but roſe by Degrees to Fifteen. It is true, in the remoteſt Times of Antiquity it was of an uncertain, but inconſiderable Value, computed by* Euſtathius *at no more than twenty four* Drachmæ.

The

The loweſt Coin among the Romans, *which we find mentioned in* Plutarch *is the* Quadrans, *the preciſe Value of which is not known. Next to This is the* As, *Two and a Half of which make the* Seſtertius, *and four* Seſtertii *make a* Denarius, *equal in Value to the* Attick Drachma. *We think it needleſs to obſerve to the* Engliſh *Reader that the Word* Seſtertium *is equal to a thouſand* Seſtertii, *becauſe we do not conceive it will be of any uſe to him in this Tranſlation; for the better underſtanding of which, ſo far as it relates to this Article, we hope the following Table will be ſufficient.*

		l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
1	As *makes*	0	0	0	$3\frac{1}{10}$
$2\frac{1}{2}$	*make a* Seſtertius	0	0	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
4	Seſtertii *make a* Denarius	0	0	7	$0\frac{3}{4}$

By the Help of theſe Tables he may be able to reduce any Sum he will meet with in the following Tranſlation.

There will be no Difficulty in aſcertaining the Diſtance of Places, becauſe Plutarch *always reckons by Furlongs, Eight of which it is well known go to a Mile.*

But

But becauſe ſome Inſight in Chronology will be abſolutely neceſſary for the Information of Thoſe, who ſhall peruſe theſe Lives, Care has been taken to prepare an Engliſh *Table from M.* Dacier, *and ſubjoin it to this Preface.*

We have the Life of Plutarch, *written in* Engliſh *by our Countryman Mr.* Dryden, *which is prefixed to This, in like manner as it has been to all the preceding Editions. It is alſo written in* French *by M.* Dacier, *who had added it at the End of his Tranſlation. Without taking upon us to decide which of thoſe two celebrated Writers have ſucceeded beſt in the Undertaking, we ſhall content ourſelves with laying before the Reader Some Points and Facts wherein they differ, and leave Him to determin between them.*

In the firſt Place, Mr. Dryden *tells us that* Plutarch's *Thirſt after Knowledge, and an Ambition to excel in all ſorts of Science, carried him into* Egypt, which was at that time, as formerly it had been, famous for Learning, and probably the Myſteriouſneſs of their Doctrine might tempt Him, as it had done *Pythagoras*, and Others, to converſe with the Prieſthood of that Country, which appears to have been particularly his Buſineſs by the

Treatiſe of *Iſis*, and *Oſiris*, which he hath left us. *M.* Dacier *will not allow of this Voyage, any more than he doth of his Journey to* Sparta, *aſſerted likewiſe by Mr.* Dryden: *Both which he ſaith are advanced without any manner of Foundation, adding that there is no one Paſſage in* Plutarch *that can give the leaſt Room for ſuch a Conjecture.* "*Whatever he writes,*" *ſaith M.* Dacier, "*concerning the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Sentiments of the* Egyptians, *he took out of their Writings. The ſame may be ſaid of his pretended Journey to* Sparta. *What he ſaith of that People is no more a Proof of his having ſojourned among them, than his Account of the Laws, and Conſtitution of* Crete, *is an Argument of his having travelled into that Iſland.*"

Mr. Dryden, *upon the Credit of* Theodoret, *ſaith*, that *Plutarch* had heard of our holy Religion, and inſerted many of our ſacred Myſteries in his Works, "*which, adds he, we may eaſily believe becauſe the Chriſtian Churches were then ſpread in* Greece, &c." *This will not be granted him by M.* D. A Moral ſo ſublime, *ſaith he*, ſo refined, and worthy of a Chriſtian, has made

Some

Some believe that he borrowed from the Chriſtian Religion many Truths, which he mingled with the Precepts and Principles he had imbibed from the Philoſophers. But he might gather thoſe Truths out of *Plato*'s Writings. If *Plutarch* had been ſo happy as to have been acquainted with the Writings of the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, it is not to be doubted but he would have entertained a thorough Contempt for the Fraternity of *Bacchus*, of which however he was a Member, for the Prieſthood of *Apollo*, wherein he officiated for many Years, and for all the other Superſtitions with which he was infected. He would have been more reſerved in his Diſcourſe concerning Superſtition, where he treats of the moſt undoubted Truths as of ſo many Fables - - - but foraſmuch as he had received no diſtinct Knowledge of the Chriſtian Religion, which is the only true Light capable of clearing the Underſtanding, and delivering us from the Yoke of Superſtition, he Himſelf remained in that Bondage. From this corrupt Fountain flowed his ſtrong Prepoſſeſſion in Favour of Signs and Prodigies, his ſlaviſh Subjection to the ſenſeleſs Ceremonies of Paganiſm, and his

ridiculous Credulity for Dreams and Oracles. He Himſelf confeſſeth that he abſtained a long time from eating Eggs on Account of a Dream, which he doth not think fit to communicate.

Mr. Dryden, *upon the Authority of* Suidas, *takes it for granted that* Plutarch *during his Reſidence at* Rome, "*was intruſted with the* "*Management of publick Affairs in the Em-* "*pire; that* Trajan *beſtowed on him the Dig-* "*nity of Conſul; and that an Edict was* "*made in favour of him, that the Magiſtrates* "*or Officers in* Illyria *ſhould do nothing in* "*that Province without the Knowledge, and* "*Approbation of* Plutarch." *This is contradicted by M.* Dacier, *who maintains that* Plutarch *would not have omitted to teſtify his Acknowledgments to that Prince for ſuch a Favour. He who is ſo particular in enumerating the meaneſt Offices he exerciſed in his own Country, could not have forborn to mention thoſe extraordinary Honours conferred upon him at* Rome. *This Error, if it be an Error, has betrayed Mr.* Dryden *into Another: For taking it for granted, upon the Authority of* Suidas, *that* Plutarch *was declared Conſul, and did perſonally receive thoſe particular*

particular Marks of Diſtinction conferred on him by Trajan, *he makes it a neceſſary Induction that he departed not from* Rome *'till after the Death of that Prince, and that conſequently he continued in* Italy *for the Space of nigh Forty Years. Whereas M.* Dacier *is of a quite different Sentiment. He thinks it may be maintained that the firſt time he went to* Rome *was towards the latter end of* Veſpaſian's *Reign, and that he never undertook any Journey thither after the Death of* Domitian, *but ſettled for good and all in his own Country. This he founds upon three Reaſons; the Firſt, not to mention the other Two, is, that in his Treatiſe containing Inſtructions for Thoſe who are placed at the Head of Affairs, ſpeaking of ſome Occurrences that befel the* Rhodians, *he ſaith in plain Terms* that they happened very lately under the Reign of *Domitian; a ſure Evidence that this Treatiſe was written a few Years after the Death of that Emperor. Now at that very time when he was writing that Treatiſe he exerciſed an Office in his native City, and remained in it 'till his Death.*

To This we may add one thing more, and conclude. Mr. Dryden *takes* Senecio, *to whom*

Plutarch " *dedicated almoſt all theſe Lives* " *of* Greeks, *and* Romans," *to be the ſame with Him, who was put to Death by* Domitian. *But in this he is miſtaken.*

The Reader will find ſo juſt a Character of the Author and his Writings in the Life before mentioned, as it is written by Mr. Dryden, *that it will be unneceſſary to ſay any thing of either in this Place. He was undoubtedly the Delight of all Ages, and Nations; inſomuch that into whatever modern Language he has been rendered, tho' the Original ſuffered never ſo much in the Tranſlation, yet even the fainteſt and moſt imperfect Ideas of him have been univerſally received with Applauſe and Eſteem. It is in a manner impoſſible for any Hand to debaſe and depreciate him to ſuch a Degree, but that there will be enough of the Intrinſick remaining to challenge the Love and Admiration of his Readers almoſt of all Sorts and Capacities. Even Children will find in him a profitable Amuſement, and They of riper Years diverting Inſtructions. It was not therefore without good Reaſon that* Theodore Gaza, *one of the moſt learned Men in the Fifteenth Century, being asked by a Friend,* In Caſe he

ſhould

ſhould be under the fatal Neceſſity of throwing into the Sea the Works of all the Authors that had ever written, which of them he would reſerve to the laſt, and endeavour to ſave from the general Wreck? *replied*, It ſhould be *Plutarch. For the ſame Reaſon* Scaliger *calls him, as he is the Author of theſe Lives*, the Eye of Wiſdom; *and the great* Thuanus *read them over with ſo much Care and Attention, as to add Notes and Obſervations of his own upon them All, which muſt be an undeniable Inſtance of the great Value put upon him by that learned and judicious Hiſtorian. Theſe Obſervations, tho' they were deſigned only for his private Uſe and Entertainment, were ſo clear and appoſite, they ſo fully explained and illuſtrated all the moſt remarkable and important Paſſages, that M.* Dacier *tells us they ſerved much to ſhorten His Inquiries, and gave him ſuch Lights as he never could have obtained without them.*

The two laſt Lives in this Collection are left out in H. Stephens's *Edition, and it is generally agreed among the Learned that they were not written by* Plutarch, *but are the Work of one of his Sons or Scholars. The Argument they make uſe of to ſupport that*

Opinion

Opinion is the Difference in the Stile, and the adventurous Boldneſs of ſome Expreſſions. However This muſt be allowed, that if they were not written by Plutarch *they are at leaſt a cloſe Imitation of him, and come not far behind the Original.*

N. B. *To this Edition the Head of each Illuſtrious Perſon is prefix'd to his Life, of whom any Buſt, Medal,* &c. *is to be found from which to take it; but as Antiquity fails to furniſh us with many of them, thoſe we are obliged to omit.*

A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

Prepared by *M. DACIER* for the uſe of Thoſe who ſhall read *Plutarch*'s Lives.

Anno Mund	Years before the 1ſt Olympiad.		Year before the Building of *Rome*.	Years before the Incarn.
2437	737	*Deucalion*'s Deluge, ſo called becauſe it happened in his Reign, *viz.* 15 or 16 Years before the Departure of the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*.	761	1511
2547	627	*Minos* I. the Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, reigned in *Crete* 110 Years after the Deluge. He was a juſt Prince.	651	1401
2698	486	*Minos* II. Son of *Lucaſte*, Grandſon of the Firſt, ſucceeded his Father, and was a Tyrant.	500	1250
		THESEUS.		
2720	454	The Expedition of the *Argonauts*, to-	478	1228

Anno Mund	Years before the 1st Olympiad.		Year before the Building of *Rome*.	Years before the Incarn.
		wards the Year of the World 2720. It is not to be doubted but *Theseus* was then living, for he was in Company with *Jason*, and his Son *Demophoon* was at the Siege of *Troy*, which happened 40 Years after that Expedition.		
2768	406	*Troy* taken. *Jeptha* was then Judge in *Israel*.	430	1180
2847	327	The Return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*, 80 Years after the Destruction of *Troy*.	351	1101
2880	294	The first War of the *Athenians* against *Sparta*, wherein *Codrus* devoted himself for the sake of his Country. *Saul* the first King of *Israel*.	318	1068
2894	288	The *Helots* subdued by *Agis* King of *Sparta*.	304	1055
2908	266	The *Ionick* Migration, 140 Years after the Destruction of *Troy*.	290	1040

Anno Mund	Years before the 1st Olympiad.		Year before the Building of *Rome*.	Years before the Incarn.
		LYCURGUS		
3045	129	Lived in the Days of *Elias* the Prophet. *Thales* the Muſician flouriſhed at the ſame time.	153	904
3174	I	*The firſt Olympiad.*	25	774
	Year of the Olympiad.	ROMULUS.	Year of *Rome*.	
3198	vii. 1.	*ROME* built the firſt Year of the ſeventh Olympiad.		
3201	4.	The Rape of the *Sabines*.	4	747
3235	xvi. 1.	The Death of *Romulus*.	38	713
		NUMA		
3236	3.	CHoſen King.	39	712
3279	xxvii. 2.	Dies.	82	669
		SOLON.		
3350	xlv. 1.	WE cannot be at a loſs to know when it was that *Solon* flouriſhed, ſince he lived under *Piſiſtratus*, who made	153	598

A.M.	Olympiad.		A.U.C.	Ante J.C.
		himself Master of *Athens* in the L. Olympiad. *Solon* was elder than Him 25 or 30 Years.		
		Cylon's Conspiracy.		
3354	xlvi. 1.	*Epimenides* arrives at *Athens*. The Seven wise Men. *Anacharsis* the *Scythian*.	157	594
3356	xlvi. 3.	*Solon* made *Archon*. *Crœsus* King of *Lydia*.	159	592
3370	l. 1.	*Pythagoras* arrives in *Italy*.	173	578
3391	lv. 2.	*Cyrus* King of *Persia*.	194	557
3401	lvii. 4.	*Crœsus* taken.	204	547
		VALERIUS POPLICOLA		
3442	lxviii. 1.	CHosen Consul in the room of *Collatine*. *Brutus* engages in single Combat with *Aruns* the eldest Son of *Tarquin*. Both are killed.	245	506
3444	3.	*Poplicola* Consul the third time. *Horatius Pulvillus*, his Collegue, dedicates the	247	504

Ante J.C.	A. M.	Olympiad.		A.U.C.	Ante J. C.
			Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus.* *Horatius Cocles* defends the *Sublician* Bridge againſt the *Tuſcans.*		
594	3448	lxix. 3.	The Death of *Poplicola.*	251	500
	3459	lxxii. 1.	Under this Year is ſet down the Battle of *Marathon,* wherein *Darius* the Son of *Hiſtaſpes* was defeated by *Miltiades* General of the *Athenians.* But in truth that Battle was not fought 'till two Years after, *viz.* in the third Year of the ſeventy ſecond Olympiad. *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides* were in the Action.	262	489
592					
578					
557					
547					
506					
			CORIOLANUS		
	3460	lxxii. 2.	WAS driven into Exile, becauſe he oppoſed diſtributing among the People the Corn that had been imported from *Sicily.* He retired to the *Volſci.*	263	488
504					

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.	A.
3462	lxxiii. 1.	The Birth of *Herodotus.*	265	486	34
3463	2.	*Coriolanus* lays Siege to *Rome,* but withdraws his Troops at the Importunity of his Wife and Mother. Whereupon at his return he is ſtoned to Death by the *Volſci.*	266	485	34
		ARISTIDES			34
3467	lxxiv. 2.	BAniſhed by the *Oſtraciſm,* and recalled three Years after.	270	481	34
		THEMISTOCLES.			35
3470	lxxv. 1.	THE Battle at *Salamis,* wherein *Xerxes* the Son of *Darius* was overthrown by *Themiſtocles* General of the *Athenians,* and *Eurybiades* the *Spartan.*	273	478	
3471	2.	The Battle of *Platæa,* wherein *Mardonius* was overthrown by *Ariſtides* and *Pauſanias.*	274	477	35

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3474	lxxvi. 1	The Birth of *Thucydides.*	277	474
3479	lxxvii. 2.	*Themiſtocles* baniſhed by the *Oſtraciſm.*	282	469
		CIMON,		
3480	3.	SON of *Miltiades,* ſomething younger than *Themiſtocles,* lived at the ſame time. Sent into *Aſia,* where he overthrows the *Perſians* both by Sea and Land.	283	468
3481	4.	The Birth of *Socrates.* He lived ſeventy one Years.	284	467
3500	lxxxii. 3.	*Cimon* dies. This Year *Alcibiades* was born. *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* flouriſhed. *Thucydides* was younger than *Herodotus* by 12 or 13 Years.	303	448
		PERICLES		
3519	lxxxvii. 2.	THE Son of *Xantippus,* Promoter of the *Peloponneſian* War, which was likewiſe called the War of *Archidamus,*	322	429

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		becauſe he was at that time King of *Sparta*. This War laſted 27 Years. *Pericles* was *Alcibiades*'s Tutor. He was very young when the *Decemvirs* went to *Athens* for *Solon*'s Laws.		
3521	4.	The Death of *Pericles*.	324	427
3522	lxxxviii. 1.	The Birth of *Plato*. *Xerxes* murdered by *Artabanus*.	325	426
		NICIAS.		
3535	xci. 2.	THE *Athenians* make War in *Sicily* at the Inſtigation of *Alcibiades*, wherein he is oppoſed by *Nicias*, but to no purpoſe.	338	413
3537	4.	*Nicias* being overthrown in *Sicily*, is taken, and put to Death.	340	411
		ALCIBIADES,		
3538	xcii. 1.	YOunger than *Nicias*, with whom he was at Variance	341	410

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		for a long time, He withdrew to *Sparta* the Year the *Athenians* began the War in *Sicily*. But upon Information that his Life was in Danger he fled to *Tiſaphernes*, Lieutenant to *Darius*.		
427				
3539	2.	*Dionyſius* the Elder makes himſelf Tyrant of *Sicily*.	342	409
426				
		LYSANDER		
3545	xciii. 4.	PUts an end to the *Peloponneſian* War, which had laſted twenty ſeven Years, and eſtabliſhed the thirty Tyrants at *Athens*. *Xenophon* flouriſhed at the ſame time. He was Cotemporary with *Thucydides*, tho' ſomething younger, and begins his Hiſtory where *Thucydides* leaves off. Thus theſe three Hiſtorians, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Xenophon*, follow each other, and take	348	403
413				
411				
410				

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		in all the History of *Greece*.		
3546	xciv. 1.	*Alcibiades* murdered by Order of *Pharnabazus*.	349	402
		ARTAXERXES Mnemon,		
3549	4.	SON of *Darius*, and Brother of the younger *Cyrus*. He began his Reign when *Lysander* made himself Master of *Athens*. Overthrows his Brother in a great Battle. The *Grecians* who were in the Army of *Cyrus* made a glorious Retreat, which is admirably described by *Xenophon*.	352	399
3550	xcv. 1.	The Death of *Socrates*.	353	398
		AGESILAUS		
3553	4.	WAS younger than *Lysander*, who was his Lover. Ascends the *Spartan* Throne after the	356	395

Ante J. C.	A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
			Death of his Brother *Agis*.		
402	3554	xcvi. 1.	Sends *Lyſander* into the *Helleſpont*.	357	394
	3555	2.	*Ageſilaus* overthrows the *Perſian* Horſe. The Death of *Lyſander*.	358	393
	3561	xcvii. 4.	The *Romans* overthrown at *Allia*.	364	387
399					
			CAMILLUS		
	3562	xcviii. 1.	RETires to *Ardea*.	365	386
	3566	xcix. 1.	The Birth of *Ariſtotle*.	369	382
	3569	4.	The Birth of *Demoſthenes*.	372	379
	3574	ci. 1.	*Chabrias* defeats the *Lacedæmonians*.	377	374
	3579	cii. 2.	Peace concluded between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*	382	369
398			The ſame Year happened the famous Battle at *Leuctra*, wherein the *Lacedæmonians*, under the Conduct of *Cleombrotus*, were defeated by the *Thebans*, who were commanded by *Epaminondas*. *Cleombrotus* fell in the Action.		
395					

A. M.	Olympiad.			A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
			PELOPIDAS,		
3580	cii.	3.	THE *Theban* General. He commanded the sacred Band at *Leuctra*.	383	368
3582	ciii.	1.	*Dionysius* the Elder dies, and is succeeded in the Tyranny by his Son *Dionysius* the younger.	385	366
3584		3.	*Isocrates* flourished, being much younger than *Plato*.	387	364
			TIMOLEON		
3585	ciii.	4.	KILLS his Brother *Timophanes*, who aimed at the Tyranny of *Corinth*.	388	363
3586	civ.	1.	*Pelopidas* overthrows *Alexander* Tyrant of *Pheræ*, but is slain himself in the Action.	389	362
3587		2.	The famous Battle of *Mantinea* wherein *Epaminondas* prevailed, but was slain by the Son of *Xenophon* the Historian.	390	361
3588		3.	*Camillus* dies.	391	360
3589		4.	The Death of *Artaxerxes*. *Agesilaus* dies the same Year.	392	359

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		DION.		
3593	cv. 4.	HE drives *Dionysius* the younger out of *Sicily*.	396	355
3594	cvi. 1.	The Birth of *Alexander the Great*.	397	354
3596	3.	*Dion* assassinated by *Calippus*.	399	352
		DEMOSTHENES		
3598	cvii. 1.	BEgins to declaim against *Philip*.	401	350
3602	cviii. 1.	The Death of *Plato*.	405	346
3605	4.	*Timoleon* sent into *Sicily* to the Assistance of *Syracuse*.	408	343
3607	cix. 2.	*Dionysius* the younger sent to *Corinth*.	410	341
3609	4.	The Birth of *Epicurus*.	412	339
3610	cx. 1.	*Timoleon* overthrows the *Carthaginians* in a great Battle.	413	338
3612	3.	The famous Battle at *Chæronea*, wherein the *Thebans* and *Athenians* were overthrown by *Philip*. His Son *Alexander* had the Command of one of the Wings.	415	336

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3613	4.	The Death of *Timoleon.*	416	335
		ALEXANDER *the Great*		
3614	cxi. 1.	DEclared General of all *Greece* against the *Perſians*, upon the Death of his Father *Philip.*	417	334
3616	3.	The Battle of *Granicus.*	419	332
3619	cxii. 2.	The Battle of *Arbela.*	422	329
3623	cxiii. 2.	*Porus* vanquiſhed.	426	325
3627	cxiv. 1.	The Death of *Alexander.*	430	321
		PHOCION		
3632	cxv. 3.	REtires to *Polyperchon*, by whom he is betrayed, and delivered up to the *Athenians*, who put him to Death.	435	316
		EUMENES		
3634	cxvi. 1.	WAS one of *Alexander*'s chief Commanders, and had ſerved under *Philip.*	437	314

Ante J. C.	A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
335			He is betrayed to *Antigonus*, who puts him to death.		
			DEMETRIUS,		
	3636	cxvi. 3.	SUrnamed *Poliorcetes*, or *the Taker of Cities*, Son of *Antigonus*, left in *Syria* at the Head of the Army when he was no more than 22 Years old.	439	312
334					
332					
329	3643	cxviii. 2.	He restores the *Athenians* to their Liberty.	446	305
325					
321					
			PYRRHUS,		
	3670	cxxv. 1.	KIng of *Epire*, Cotemporary with *Demetrius*, passeth over into *Italy*, where he is defeated by *Lævinus* the Consul.	473	278
316					
	3685	cxxviii. 4.	The first *Punick* War, which held twenty-four Years.	488	263
	3696	cxxxi. 3.	The Birth of *Philopœmen*.	499	252
314					
			ARATUS,		
	3699	cxxxii. 1.	OF *Sicyon*, delivers his Country from	502	249

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		the Tyranny of *Nicocles*.		
		AGIS *and* CLEOMENES,		
3723	cxxxviii. 2.	CO temporary with *Aratus*, who was overthrown by *Cleomenes*.	526	225
		PHILOPOEMEN		
3727	cxxxix. 2.	WAS Thirty Years old when *Cleomenes* took the City of *Megalopolis*. At the ſame time lived *Hannibal*, *Marcellus*, *Fabius Maximus*, and *Scipio Africanus*.	530	221
3731	cxl. 2.	The ſecond *Punick* War, which laſted Eighteen Years.	534	217
3733	4.	*Hannibal* overthrows the Conſul *Flaminius* at the *Thraſymene* Lake.	536	215
3734	cxli. 1.	And the Conſuls *Varro*, and *L. Æmilius* at *Cannæ*.	537	214
3736	3.	Beaten by *Marcellus* at *Nola*.	539	212

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3738	cxlii. 1.	*Marcellus* takes *Syracuse.*	541	210
3741	4.	*Fabius Maximus* makes himself Master of *Tarentum.*	544	207
3747	cxliv. 2.	The Death of *Fabius Maximus.*	550	201
3749	4.	*Scipio* triumphs for the Conquest of *Africa.*	552	199
		T. QUINTUS FLAMINIUS.		
3752	cxlv. 3.	DEclared Consul before he was thirty Years old.	555	196
		CATO *the Censor*		
		LIved at the same time, for he was with *Fabius Maximus* at the taking of *Tarentum*, when he was about twenty one or twenty two Years of Age.		
3754	cxlvi. 1.	*Greece* restored to her Liberty by *T. Q. Flamininus.*	557	194
3755	2.	*Cato* triumphs for his Conquests in *Spain.*	558	193
3766	cxlix. 1.	*Scipio Africanus* dies.	569	182

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3767	2.	*Philopœmen* dies. In the same Year was the first Consulate of	570	181
		PAULUS ÆMILIUS		
		THE Son of *Lucius Æmilius*, who was defeated by *Hannibal* at *Cannæ*.		
3782	cliii. 1.	In his second Consulate he overthrew *Perseus*, and took him Prisoner. *Judas Macabæus* lived and *Terence* flourished at the same time.	585	166
3790	clv. 1.	*Æmilius* dies.	593	158
3794	clvi. 1.	The Birth of *Marius*.	597	154
3801	clvii. 4.	The Third *Punick* War, which lasted four Years.	604	147
		The Death of *Cato the Censor*.		
3804	clviii. 3.	*Scipio* the Younger, Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, destroys *Carthage*.	607	14
		TIBERIUS *and* CAIUS GRACCHI.		
3827	clxiv. 2.	THE Laws of *Caius Gracchus*.	630	12

Ante J. C.	A. M.	Olymp.	d.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
				MARIUS		
	3843	clxviii.	2.	GOES into *Africk* againſt *Jugurtha*. The Birth of *Cicero*.	646	105
	3844		3.	The Birth of *Pompey*.	647	104
	3846	clxix.	1.	*Marius* in his ſecond Conſulate is ſent againſt the *Cimbri*.	649	102
166						
	3850	clxx.	1.	The Birth of *Julius Cæſar* under the ſixth Conſulate of *Marius*.	653	98
				SYLLA		
158						
156	3855	clxxi.	2.	SEnt into *Cappadocia* at the Expiration of his Prætorſhip.	658	93
147	3862	clxxiii.	1.	Makes himſelf Maſter of *Rome*.	665	86
	3863		2.	And of *Athens*. *Marius* dies the ſame Year.	666	85
14						
				SERTORIUS.		
	3867	clxxiv.	2.	SENT into *Spain*.	670	81
	3868		3.	The younger *Marius* overthrown by *Sylla*, who ſoon after defeats *Pontius*	671	80
12						

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		Teleſinus at the Gates of *Rome*. He enters the City, is created Dictator, and exerciſeth all manner of Cruelties.		
		MARCUS CRASSUS		
		ENricheth himſelf out of the Eſtates of Theſe, who had been proſcribed by *Sylla*. He was older than *Pompey*.		
		POMPEY		
3869	clxxiv. 4.	SEnt into *Africa* at twenty-five Years of Age, and defeats *Domitius*.	672	79
		CATO *of* UTICA		
		WAS younger than *Pompey*; for he was but fourteen Years old when *Sylla* was in the Height of his Cruelties.		
		CICERO		
3870	clxxv. 1.	DEfends *Roſcius*, oppreſt underhand by *Sylla*.	673	78

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3871	2.	*Sylla* abdicates the Dictatorſhip, and dies the Year following.	674	77
3874	clxxvi. 1.	*Pompey* engageth *Sertorius* in *Spain*.	677	74
		LUCULLUS		
3877	clxxvi. 4.	SEnt againſt *Mithridates* at the Expiration of his Conſulſhip.	680	71
3879	clxxvii. 2.	*Sertorius* aſſaſſinated in *Spain*. *Craſſus* Conſul with *Pompey*.	682	69
3881	4.	*Tigranes* overthrown by *Lucullus*.	684	67
3887	clxxix. 2.	The Death of *Mithridates*. *Pompey* forceth the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. *Auguſtus* born.	690	61
		JULIUS CÆSAR		
3891	clxxx. 2.	DEclared Conſul with *Bibulus*, obtains *Illyrium*, and the two *Gauls* with four Legions. Marries his Daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*.	694	57
3897	clxxxi. 4.	*Craſſus* taken, and ſlain by the *Parthians*.	700	51

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U.C	Ante J. C.
3902	clxxxiii. 1.	*Cæsar* defeats *Pompey* in the Plains of *Pharsalia*. *Pompey* flies into *Ægypt*, where he is murdered.	705	46
3903	2.	*Cæsar* makes himself Master of *Alexandria*, subdues *Egypt*, goes into *Syria*, marcheth against *Pharnaces* King of *Pontus*, and defeats him.	706	45
3904	3.	He overthrows *Juba*, *Scipio*, and *Petreius* in *Africa*, and obtains four Triumphs. *Cato* kills himself at *Utica*.	707	44
3905	4.	*Cæsar* defeats *Pompey*'s Sons at *Munda* in *Spain*. *Cneius* falls in the Action, and *Sextus* flies into *Sicily*. *Cæsar* triumphs for the fifth time.	708	43
		BRUTUS.		
3906	clxxxiv. 1.	*CÆSAR* is killed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*.	709	42
3907	2.	*Brutus* marcheth into *Macedonia*.	710	41

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		M. ANTONIUS		
		OVerthrown the ſame Year by *Auguſtus* at *Modena*. He retires towards *Lepidus*. The Triumvirate of *Auguſtus*, *Antony*, and *Lepidus*, who divide the Empire between them.		
3908	3.	The Battle at *Philippi*, where *Brutus* and *Caſſius* being overthrown by *Auguſtus* and *Antony*, lay violent Hands on themſelves.	711	40
3909	4.	*Antony* confederates with *Sextus Pompeius* againſt *Auguſtus*.	712	39
3910	clxxxv. 1.	*Auguſtus* and *Antony* are reconciled after the Death of *Fulvia* the Wife of *Antony*, who thereupon marries *Octavia*, *Cæſar*'s Siſter.	713	38
3918	clxxxvii. 1.	New Grounds of War between *Auguſtus* and *Antony*.	721	130
3919	clxxxvii. 2.	The Battle at *Actium*, where *Antony* is defeated, and	722	29

A. M.	Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		flies with *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt*.		
3920	3.	*Auguſtus* makes himſelf Maſter of *Alexandria*. *Antony* kills himſelf, and *Cleopatra* follows his Example.	723	28
		GALBA.		Anno Dom.
3947	cxciv. 2.	*Galba* born in the ſame Year with Jeſus Chriſt.	750	1
3981	ccii. 4.	The Birth of *Otho*.	784	34
3982	cciii. 1.	*Galba* Conſul.	785	35
4018	ccxi. 4.	The Revolt of *Vindex*. *Nero* killed, and *Galba* declared Emperor.	820	70
		OTHO		
4019	ccxii. 1.	REvolts againſt *Galba*, kills him and ſeizeth on the Empire. Three Months after which he is overthrown by *Vitellius*, and kills himſelf.	821	71

THE

THE LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

Written by Mr. DRYDEN.

I Know not by what Fate it comes to paſs, that Hiſtorians, who give Immortality to others, are ſo ill requited by Poſterity, that their Actions and their Fortunes are uſually forgotten; neither themſelves encourag'd while they live, nor their Memory preſery'd entire to future Ages. 'Tis the Ingratitude of Mankind to their greateſt Benefactors, that they, who teach us Wiſdom by the ſureſt ways, (ſetting before us what we ought to ſhun, or to purſue, by the Examples of the moſt Famous Men whom they record, and by the Experience of their Faults and Virtues) ſhould generally live poor and unregarded; as if they were born only for the pub-

lick, and had no intereſt in their own well-being, but were to be lighted up like Tapers, and to waſte themſelves for the benefit of others. But this is a complaint too general, and the Cuſtom has been too long eſtabliſh'd to be remedied; neither does it wholly reach our Author: He was born in an Age, which was ſenſible of his Virtue; and found a *Trajan* to reward him, as *Ariſtotle* did an *Alexander*. But the Hiſtorians, who ſucceeded him, have either been too envious, or too careleſs of his Reputation; none of them, not even his own Countrymen, having given us any particular account of him; or if they have, yet their Works are not tranſmitted to us: ſo that we are forc'd to glean from *Plutarch*, what he has ſcatter'd in his Writings concerning himſelf, and his Original. Which (excepting that little Memorial, that *Suidas*, and ſome few others, have left concerning him) is all we can collect, relating to this Great Philoſopher and Hiſtorian.

He was born at *Chæronea*, a ſmall City of *Bœotia* in *Greece*, between *Attica* and *Phocis*, and reaching to both Seas. The Climate not much befriended by the Heavens; for the Air is thick and foggy; and conſequently the Inhabitants partaking of its influence, groſs Feeders, and fat-witted; brawny, and unthinking, juſt the Conſtitution of Heroes: Cut out for the Executive and brutal buſineſs of War; but ſo ſtupid in the Deſigning part, that in all the Revolutions of *Greece* they were never Maſters, but only in thoſe few years, when they were led by *Epaminondas*, or *Pelopidas*. Yet this foggy Air, this Country of fat Weathers, as *Juvenal* calls it, produc'd three Wits, which were comparable to any three *Athenians*: *Pindar*, *Epaminondas*, and our *Plutarch*, to whom we may add a fourth, *Sextus Chæronenſis*, the Preceptor of the Learned Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*; and the Nephew of our Author.

Chæronea (if we may give credit to *Pauſanias*, in the ninth Book of his Deſcription of *Greece*) was anciently call'd *Arnè*, from *Arnè* the Daughter of *Æolus*; but being ſituated to the Weſt of *Parnaſſus* in that low-land Country,

Country, the natural unwholſomneſs of the Air was augmented by the Evening Vapours caſt upon it from that Mountain, which our late Travellers deſcribe to be full of moiſture and marſhy Ground inclos'd in the inequality of its Aſcents: And being alſo expos'd to the Winds which blew from that quarter, the Town was perpetually unhealthful; for which reaſon, ſays my Author, *Chæron*, the Son of *Apollo* and *Thero*, made it be rebuilt, and turn'd it towards the riſing Sun: From whence the Town became healthful, and conſequently populous: in memory of which benefit, it afterwards retain'd his Name. But as *Etymologies* are uncertain, and the *Greeks*, above all Nations, given to fabulous derivations of Names, eſpecially when they tend to the Honour of their Country, I think we may be reaſonably content to take the denomination of the Town, from its delightful or chearful ſtanding; as the word *Chæron* ſufficiently implies.

But to loſe no time in theſe Grammatical *Etymologies*, which are commonly uncertain gueſſes, 'tis agreed that *Plutarch* was here born; the year uncertain, but without diſpute in the Reign of *Claudius*.

Joh. Gerrard Voſſius has aſſign'd his Birth in the latter end of that Emperor: Some other Writers of his Life, have left it undecided, whether then, or in the beginning of *Nero*'s Empire: But the moſt accurate *Rualdus* (as I find it in the *Paris* Edition of *Plutarch*'s Works) has manifeſtly prov'd him to be born in the middle time of *Claudius*, or ſomewhat lower. For *Plutarch* in the Inſcription at *Delphos*, of which more hereafter, remembers that *Ammonius* his Maſter diſputed with him and his Brother *Lamprias* concerning it, when *Nero* made his Progreſs into *Greece*, which was in his twelfth year; and the Queſtion diſputed cou'd not be manag'd with ſo much learning as it was by mere Boys; therefore he was then ſixteen, or rather eighteen years of Age.

Xylander has obſerv'd, that *Plutarch* himſelf, in the Life of *Pericles*, and that of *Anthony*, has mention'd

both *Nero*, and *Domitian*, as his Contemporaries. He has alſo left it on Record in his *Sympoſiaques*, that his Family was antient in *Chæronea*; and that for many Deſcents, they had born the moſt conſiderable Offices in that petty Commonwealth. The chiefeſt of which was known by the name of *Archon* amongſt the *Grecians*; by that of *Prætor Urbis* among the *Romans*; and the Dignity and Power was not much different from that of our Lord Mayor of *London*. His Great Grandfather *Nicarchus* perhaps enjoy'd that Office in the diviſion of the Empire betwixt *Auguſtus Cæſar* and *Mark Anthony*. And when the Civil Wars enſued betwixt them, *Chæronea* was ſo hardly us'd by *Anthony*'s Lieutenant, or Commiſſary there, that all the Citizens without exception were ſervilely employ'd to carry on their ſhoulders a certain proportion of Corn from *Chæronea*, to the Coaſt over-againſt the Iſland of *Anticyra*, with the Scourge held over them, if at any time they were remiſs: Which Duty after once performing, being enjoin'd the ſecond time with the ſame ſeverity, juſt as they were preparing for their Journey, the welcome News arriv'd, that *Mark Anthony* had loſt the Battle of *Actium*: whereupon both the Officers and Soldiers, belonging to him in *Chæronea*, immediately fled for their own Safety; and the Proviſions thus collected were diſtributed among the Inhabitants of the City.

This *Nicarchus*, the Great Grandfather of *Plutarch*, among other Sons, had *Lamprias*, a Man eminent for his Learning; and a Philoſopher, of whom *Plutarch* has made frequent mention in his *Sympoſiaques*, or *Table Converſations*; and amongſt the reſt, there is this Obſervation of him, that he diſputed beſt, and unravel'd the difficulties of Philoſophy with moſt ſucceſs when he was at Supper, and well warm'd with Wine. Theſe Table Entertainments were part of the Education of thoſe times, their Diſcourſes being commonly the Canvaſing and Solution of ſome Queſtion, either Philoſophical or Philological, always inſtructive, and uſually pleaſant: for the Cups went round with the Debate; and

and Men were merry and wiſe together, according to the Proverb. The Father of *Plutarch* is alſo mention'd in thoſe Diſcourſes, whom our Author repreſents as arguing of ſeveral points in Philoſophy; but his Name is no where to be found in any part of the Works remaining to us. But yet he ſpeaks of him, as a Man not ignorant in Learning and Poetry, as may appear by what he ſays, when he is introduc'd diſputing in the *Sympoſiaques*; where alſo his prudence and humanity are commended, in this following Relation. Being yet very young (ſays *Plutarch*) I was join'd in commiſſion with another in an Embaſſy to the *Proconſul*, and my Colleague falling ſick was forced to ſtay behind, ſo that the whole buſineſs was tranſacted by me alone. At my return, when I was to give account to the Commonwealth of my Proceedings, my Father riſing from his Seat, openly enjoin'd me not to name myſelf in the ſingular number, *I did thus, or thus, I ſaid to the Proconſul; but thus we did, and thus we ſaid*, always aſſociating my Companion with me, tho' abſent in the management: This was done to obſerve, as I ſuppoſe, the point of good manners with his Collegue, that of reſpect to the Government of the City, who had commiſſion'd both, to avoid envy, and perhaps more eſpecially to take off the forwardneſs of a pert young Miniſter, commonly too apt to over-value his own ſervice, and to quote himſelf on every inconſiderable occaſion. The Father of *Plutarch* had many Children beſides him; *Timon* and *Lamprias*, his Brothers, were bred up with him, all three inſtructed in the Liberal Sciences, and in all parts of Philoſophy. 'Tis manifeſt from our Author, that they liv'd together in great Friendlineſs, and in great Veneration to their Grandfather, and Father. What Affection *Plutarch* bore in particular to his Brother *Timon*, may be gather'd from theſe words of his: *As for myſelf, tho' Fortune on ſeveral occaſions has been favourable to me, I have no Obligation ſo great to her, as the Kindneſs and entire Friendſhip, which my Brother* Timon *has always born, and ſtill bears me: And this is*

ſo evident, that it cannot but be noted by every one of our Acquaintance. *Lamprias*, the youngeſt of the three, is introduc'd by him in his Morals, as one of a ſweet and pleaſant Converſation, inclin'd to Mirth and Rallery; or, as we ſay in *Engliſh*, a well-humour'd Man, and a good Companion. The whole Family being thus addicted to Philoſophy, 'tis no wonder if our Author was initiated betimes in Study, to which he was naturally inclin'd. In purſuit of which he was ſo happy, to fall into good hands at firſt; being recommended to the care of *Ammonius* an *Egyptian*, who, having taught Philoſophy with great Reputation at *Alexandria*, and from thence travelling into *Greece*, ſettled himſelf at laſt in *Athens*, where he was well receiv'd, and generally reſpected. At the end of *Themiſtocles* his Life, *Plutarch* relates, that being young, he was a Penſioner in the Houſe of this *Ammonius*; and in his *Sympoſiaques* he brings him in diſputing with his Scholars, and giving them Inſtruction. For the Cuſtom of thoſe times was very much different from theſe of ours, where the greateſt part of our Youth is ſpent in learning the words of dead Languages. The *Grecians*, who thought all *Barbarians* but themſelves, deſpis'd the uſe of Foreign Tongues; ſo that the firſt Elements of their breeding was the knowledge of Nature, and the accommodation of that knowledge by Moral Precepts, to the ſervice of the Publick, and the private Offices of Virtue. The Maſters employing one part of their time in reading to, and diſcourſing with their Scholars; and the reſt, in appointing them their ſeveral Exerciſes, either in Oratory or Philoſophy, and ſetting them to declaim and to diſpute amongſt themſelves. By this liberal ſort of Education, Study was ſo far from being a burden to them, that in a ſhort time it became a Habit; and Philoſophical Queſtions, and Criticiſms of Humanity, were their uſual recreations at their Meals. Boys liv'd then as the better ſort of Men do now; and their Converſation was ſo well-bred and manly, that they did not plunge out of their depth into the World, when they

grew up; but ſlid eaſily into it, and found no alteration in their Company. Amongſt the reſt, the Reading and Quotations of Poets were not forgotten at their Suppers, and in their Walks; but *Homer*, *Euripides*, and *Sophocles*, were the Entertainment of their hours of freedom. Rods and Ferula's were not us'd by *Ammonius*, as being properly the puniſhment of Slaves, and not the Correction of ingenious Free-born Men. At leaſt to be only exercis'd by Parents, who had the power of Life and Death over their own Children. As appears by the Example of this *Ammonius*, thus related by our Author.

Our Maſter (ſays he) *one time perceiving at his Afternoon Lecture, that ſome of his Scholars had eaten more largely than became the moderation of Students, immediately commanded one of his Free Men to take his own Son, and ſcourge him in our ſight*; *becauſe*, ſaid the Philoſopher, *my young Gentleman cou'd not eat his Dinner without Poinant Sauce or Vinegar*; *and at the ſame time he caſt his eye on all of us: So that every Criminal was given to underſtand, that he had a ſhare in the reprehenſion, and that the puniſhment was as well deſerv'd by all the reſt, had the Philoſopher not known, that it exceeded his Commiſſion to inflict it.*

Plutarch therefore having the aſſiſtance of ſuch a Maſter, in few years advanced to admiration in knowledge: And that without firſt travelling into Foreign Parts, or acquiring any Foreign Tongue; tho' the *Roman* Language at that time was not only vulgar in *Rome* itſelf, but generally through the extent of that vaſt Empire, and in *Greece*, which was a Member of it, as our Author has remark'd towards the end of his *Platonick* Queſtions. For like a true Philoſopher, who minded things, not words, he ſtrove not even to cultivate his Mother Tongue with any great exactneſs. And himſelf confeſſes in the beginning of *Demoſthenes* his Life, that during his abode in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, he had neither the leiſure to ſtudy, nor ſo much as to exerciſe the *Roman* Language, (I ſuppoſe he means to write

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in it, rather than to ſpeak it) as well by reaſon of the affairs he manag'd, as that he might acquit himſelf to thoſe who were deſirous to be inſtructed by him in Philoſophy. In ſo much, that till the declination of his Age, he began not to be converſant in Latin Books; in reading of which it happen'd ſomewhat oddly to him, that he learnt not the knowledge of things by words; but by the underſtanding and uſe he had of things, attain'd to the knowledge of words which ſignified them. Juſt as *Adam* (ſetting aſide Divine Illumination) call'd the Creatures by their proper Names, by firſt underſtanding their Natures. But for the delicacies of the Tongue, the turns of the Expreſſion, the Figures and Connexions of Words, in which conſiſts the Beauty of that Language, he plainly tells us, that tho' he much admir'd them, yet they requir'd too great labour for a Man in Age, and plung'd in Buſineſs, to attain perfectly. Which Compliment I ſhould be willing to believe from a Philoſopher, if I did not conſider, that *Dion Caſſius*, nay even *Herodian* and *Appian* after him, as well as *Polybius* before him, by writing the *Roman* Hiſtory in the *Greek* Language, had ſhewn as manifeſt a contempt of *Latin*, in reſpect of the other, as *French* Men now do of *Engliſh*, which they diſdain to ſpeak while they live among us: But with great advantage to their trivial conceptions, drawing the diſcourſe into their own Language, have learnt to deſpiſe our better thoughts, which muſt come deform'd and lame in Converſation to them, as being tranſmitted in a Tongue of which we are not Maſters. This is to arrogate a Superiority in Nature over us, as undoubtedly the *Grecians* did over their Conquerors, by eſtabliſhing their Language for a Standard; it being become ſo much a mode to ſpeak and write *Greek* in *Tully*'s time, that with ſome indignation I have read his Epiſtles to *Atticus*, in which he deſires to have his own Conſulſhip written by his Friend in the *Grecian* Language, which he afterwards perform'd himſelf; a vain attempt in my opinion, for any Man to endeavour to excel in a Tongue which

which he was not born to ſpeak. This, tho' it be digreſſion, yet deſerves to be conſider'd at more leiſure; for the Honour of our Wit and Writings, which are of a more ſolid make than that of our Neighbours, is concern'd in it. But to return to *Plutarch*; as it was his good fortune to be moulded firſt by Maſters the moſt excellent in their kind, ſo it was his own Virtue, to ſuck in with an incredible deſire, and earneſt application of Mind, their wiſe Inſtructions; and it was alſo his Prudence ſo to manage his Health by moderation of Diet and bodily Exerciſe, as to preſerve his Parts without decay to a great old Age; to be lively and vigorous to the laſt, and to preſerve himſelf to his own Enjoyments, and to the profit of Mankind. Which was not difficult for him to perform, having receiv'd from Nature a Conſtitution capable of labour, and from the Domeſtick Example of his Parents, a ſparing ſobriety of diet, a temperance in other Pleaſures, and above all, a Habitude of commanding his Paſſions in order to his Health. Thus principled and grounded, he conſider'd with himſelf, that a larger Communication with Learned Men was neceſſary for his accompliſhment; and therefore, having a Soul inſatiable of Knowledge, and being ambitious to excel in all kinds of Science, he took up a reſolution to Travel. *Egypt* was at that time, as formerly it had been, famous for Learning; and probably the Myſteriouſneſs of their Doctrine might tempt him, as it had done *Pythagoras* and others, to converſe with the Prieſthood of that Country, which appears to have been particularly his buſineſs by the Treatiſe of *Iſis* and *Oſyris*, which he has left us: In which he ſhews himſelf not meanly vers'd in the ancient Theology and Philology of thoſe wiſe Men. From *Egypt* returning into *Greece*, he viſited in his way all the Academies, or Schools of the ſeveral Philoſophers, and gather'd from them many of thoſe Obſervations with which he has enrich'd Poſterity.

Beſides this, he apply'd himſelf, with extreme diligence, to collect not only all Books which were excel-

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lent in their kind, and already publiſh'd, but alſo all Sayings and Diſcourſes of wiſe Men, which he had heard in Converſation, or which he had receiv'd from others by Tradition: as likewiſe the Records and publick Inſtruments, preſerv'd in Cities, which he had viſited in his Travels; and which he afterwards ſcatter'd through his Works. To which purpoſe he took a particular Journey to *Sparta*, to ſearch the Archives of that famous Commonwealth, to underſtand throughly the Model of their ancient Government, their Legiſlators, their Kings, and their *Ephori*, digeſting all their memorable Deeds and Sayings with ſo much care, that he has not omitted thoſe even of their Women, or their private Soldiers; together with their Cuſtoms, their Decrees, their Ceremonies, and the manner of their publick and private living, both in Peace and War. The ſame methods he alſo took in divers other Commonwealths, as his Lives and his *Greek* and *Roman* Queſtions ſufficiently teſtify. Without theſe helps it had been impoſſible for him to leave in writing ſo many particular Obſervations of Men and Manners, and as impoſſible to have gather'd them, without Converſation and Commerce with the learned Antiquaries of his time. To theſe he added a curious Collection of ancient Statues, Medals, Inſcriptions, and Paintings, as alſo of proverbial Sayings, Epigrams, Epitaphs, Apothegms, and other Ornaments of Hiſtory, that he might leave nothing unſwept behind him. And as he was continually in company with Men of Learning in all Profeſſions, ſo his Memory was always on the ſtretch, to receive and lodge their Diſcourſes; and his Judgment perpetually employ'd in ſeparating his Notions, and diſtinguiſhing which were fit to be preſerv'd, and which to be rejected.

By benefit of this, in little time he enlarg'd his knowledge to a great extent in every Science: Himſelf, in the beginning of the Treatiſe which he has compos'd of *Content and Peace of Mind*, makes mention of thoſe Collections, or Common-places, which he

he had long ſince drawn together for his own particular occaſions: And 'tis from this rich Cabinet that he has taken out thoſe excellent pieces which he has diſtributed to Poſterity, and which give us occaſion to deplore the loſs of the reſidue, which either the injury of Time, or the negligence of Copiers have denied to us. On this account, tho' we need not doubt to give him this general commendation, that he was ignorant of no ſort of learning, yet we may juſtly add this farther, that whoever will conſider through the whole body of his Works, either the deſign, the method, or the contexture of his Diſcourſes, whether Hiſtorical or Moral, or Queſtions of natural Philoſophy, or Solutions of Problems Mathematical; whether he arraigns the Opinions of other Sects, or eſtabliſhes the Doctrines of his own: in all theſe kinds there will be found, both the harmony of order, and the beauty of eaſineſs; his reaſons ſo ſolid and convincing, his inductions ſo pleaſant and agreeable to all ſorts of Readers, that it muſt be acknowledg'd he was Maſter of every Subject which he treated, and treated none but what were improveable to the benefit of Inſtruction. For we may perceive in his Writings, the deſire he had to imprint his Precepts in the Souls of his Readers; and to lodge Morality in Families, nay even to exalt it to the Thrones of Sovereign Princes, and to make it the Rule and Meaſure of their Government. Finding that there were many Sects of Philoſophers then in vogue, he ſearch'd into the foundation of all their Principles and Opinions; and not content with this diſquiſition, he traced them to their ſeveral Fountains. So that the *Pythagorean*, *Epicurean*, *Stoick*, and *Peripatetick* Philoſophy, were familiar to him. And tho' it may be eaſily obſerv'd, that he was chiefly inclin'd to follow *Plato* (whoſe Memory he ſo much reverenced, that annually he celebrated his Birth-day, and alſo that of *Socrates*;) yet he modeſtly contained himſelf within the bounds of the latter Academy, and was content, like *Cicero*, only to propound and weigh Opinions, leaving

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ing the Judgment of his Readers free, without preſuming to decide dogmatically. Yet it is to be confeſs'd, that in the midſt of this moderation, he oppos'd the two extremes of the *Epicurean* and *Stoick* Sects: Both of which he has judiciouſly combated in ſeveral of his Treatiſes, and both upon the ſame account, becauſe they pretend too much to Certainty in their Dogmas, and to impoſe them with too great arrogance; which he, who (following the Academiſts) doubted more and pretended leſs, was no way able to ſupport. The *Pyrrhonians*, or groſſer ſort of *Scepticks*, who bring all Certainty in queſtion, and ſtartle even at the notions of Common Senſe, appear'd as abſurd to him on the other ſide; for there is a kind of Poſitiveneſs in granting nothing to be more likely on one part than on another, which his Academy avoided by inclining the balance to that hand, where the moſt weighty reaſons, and probability of truth were viſible. The Moral Philoſophy therefore was his chiefeſt aim, becauſe the Principles of it admitted of leſs doubt; and becauſe they were moſt conducing to the benefit of Human Life. For, after the example of *Socrates*, he had found that the ſpeculations of Natural Philoſophy were rather delightful than ſolid and profitable; that they were abſtruſe and thorny, and had much of *Sophiſm* in the ſolution of appearances: That the Mathematicks indeed could reward his pains with many demonſtrations; but tho' they made him wiſer, they made him not more virtuous, and therefore attain'd not the end of Happineſs: For which reaſon, tho' he had far advanced in that Study, yet he made it but his recreation, not his buſineſs. Some Problem of it was his uſual divertiſement at Supper, which he mingled alſo with pleaſant and more light diſcourſes. For he was no ſour Philoſopher, but paſt his time as merrily as he cou'd, with reference to Virtue: He forgot not to be pleaſant while he inſtructed; and entertain'd his Friends with ſo much chearfulneſs and good humour, that his Learning was not naufeous to them; neither

neither were they afraid of his Company another time. He was not ſo auſtere as to deſpiſe Riches, but being in poſſeſſion of a large Fortune, he liv'd, tho' not ſplendidly, yet plentifully; and ſuffer'd not his Friends to want that part of his Eſtate, which he thought ſuperfluous to a Philoſopher.

The Religion he profeſs'd, to ſpeak the worſt of it, was Heathen. I ſay the Religion he profeſs'd; for 'tis no way probable, that ſo great a Philoſopher, and ſo wiſe a Man, ſhould believe the Superſtitions and Fopperies of *Paganiſm*: but that he accommodated himſelf to the Uſe, and receiv'd Cuſtoms of his Country. He was indeed a *Prieſt of Apollo*, as himſelf acknowledges, but that proves him not to have been a *Polytheiſt*.

I have ever thought, that the Wiſe-men in all Ages have not much differ'd in their Opinions of Religion; I mean as 'tis grounded on human Reaſon. For Reaſon, as far as it is right, muſt be the ſame in all Men: And Truth being but one, they muſt conſequently think in the ſame Train. Thus it is not to be doubted, but the Religion of *Socrates*, *Plato* and *Plutarch*, was not different in the main: Who doubtleſs believ'd the Identity of one Supreme Intellectual Being, which we call GOD. But becauſe they who have written the Life of *Plutarch* in other Languages, are contented barely to aſſert, that our Author believ'd one God, without quoting thoſe paſſages of his which wou'd clear the point; I will give you two of them, amongſt many, in his *Morals*. The firſt is in his Book of the *Ceſſation of Oracles*; where arguing againſt the *Stoicks* (in behalf of the *Platoniſts*) who diſputed againſt the plurality of Worlds with this Argument: *That if there were many Worlds, how then cou'd it come to paſs, that there was one only Fate, and one Providence to guide them all? (for it was granted by the* Platoniſts, *that there was but one:) And why ſhould not many* Jupiters *or* Gods *be neceſſary for the Government of many Worlds?* To this *Plutarch* anſwers, *That this their capacious queſtion was but trifling; For where is the neceſſity of ſup-*

posing many Jupiters, *for this Plurality of Worlds? when one excellent Being, indued with Mind and Reason, such as he is, whom we acknowledge to be the Father and Lord of all things, is sufficient to direct and rule these Worlds; whereas if there were more Supreme Agents, their Decrees must still be the more absurd and contradictious to one another.* I pretend not this Passage to be translated word for word, but 'tis the Sense of the whole, tho' the order of the Sentence be inverted. The other is more plain: 'Tis in his Comment on the Word EI, or those two Letters inscrib'd on the Gates of the Temple at *Delphos*: Where having given the several opinions concerning it, as first, that ει signifies *if*, because all the questions which were made to *Apollo* began with *if*; as suppose they ask'd, *if* the *Grecians* should overcome the *Persians*; *if* such a Marriage should come to pass, &c. And afterwards, that ει might signify *thou art*, as the second Person of the present Tense of εἰμι, intimating thereby the Being or perpetuity of Being belonging to *Apollo*, as a God; in the same sense that God express'd himself to *Moses*, *I AM hath sent thee*; *Plutarch* subjoins (as inclining to this latter opinion) these following words: εἰ ἐν, says he, *signifies Thou art One, for there are not many Deities, but only one.* Continues, *I mean not one in the aggregate sense, as we say one Army, or one Body of Men, constituted of many individuals; but that which Is, must of necessity be One; and to Be, implies to be One. One is that which is a simple Being, uncompounded, or free from mixture: Therefore to be One in this sense, is only consistent with a Nature, pure in itself, and not capable of alteration or decay.*

That he was no Christian is manifest: Yet he is no where found to have spoken with Contumely of our Religion, like the other Writers of his Age, and those who succeeded him. *Theodoret* says of him, *That he had heard of our Holy Gospel; and inserted many of our Sacred Mysteries in his Works:* which we may easily believe, because the Christian Churches were then spread

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in *Greece*; and *Pliny the Younger* was at the ſame time converſant amongſt them in *Aſia*, tho' that part of our Author's Works is not now extant, from whence *Theodoret* might gather thoſe Paſſages. But we need not wonder, that a Philoſopher was not eaſy to embrace the Divine Myſteries of our Faith. A modern God, as our *Saviour* was to him, was of hard digeſtion to a Man, who probably deſpis'd the vanities and fabulous relations of the old. Beſides, a crucify'd Saviour of Mankind, a Doctrine atteſted by illiterate Diſciples, the Author of it a *Jew*, whoſe Nation at that time was deſpicable, and his Doctrine but an innovation among that deſpis'd People, to which the Learned of his own Country gave no Credit, and which the Magiſtrates of his Nation puniſh'd with an ignominious death; the Scene of his Miracles acted in an obſcure Corner of the World; his being from Eternity, yet born in Time, his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, theſe and many more particulars might eaſily choke the Faith of a Philoſopher, who believ'd no more than what he cou'd deduce from the Principles of Nature; and that too with a doubtful Academical aſſent, or rather an inclination to aſſent to probability: which he judg'd was wanting in this new Religion. Theſe circumſtances conſider'd, tho' they plead not an abſolute invincible ignorance in his behalf, yet they amount at leaſt to a degree of it; for either he thought them not worth weighing, or rejected them when weigh'd; and in both caſes he muſt of neceſſity be ignorant, becauſe he could not know without Revelation, and the Revelation was not to him. But leaving the Soul of *Plutarch*, with our charitable Wiſhes, to his Maker, we can only trace the reſt of his Opinions in Religion from his Philoſophy: Which we have ſaid in the general to be *Platonick*; tho' it cannot alſo be denied, that there was a Tincture in it of the *Electick* Sect; which was begun by *Potamon* under the Empire of *Auguſtus*, and which ſelected from all the other Sects what ſeem'd moſt probable in their Opinions, not adhering ſingularly to any

of them, nor rejecting every thing. I will only touch his belief of Spirits. In his two Treatiſes of Oracles, the one concerning the reaſon of their Ceſſation, the other enquiring why they were not given in Verſe, as in former times; he ſeems to aſſert the *Pythagorean* Doctrine of Tranſmigration of Souls. We have formerly ſhewn, that he own'd the Unity of a Godhead; whom, according to his Attributes, he calls by ſeveral names, as *Jupiter* from his Almighty Power, *Apollo* from his Wiſdom, and ſo of the reſt; but under him he places thoſe Beings whom he ſtyles *Genii* or *Dæmons*, of a middle nature, betwixt Divine and Human. For he thinks it abſurd, that there ſhould be no mean betwixt the two extremes, of an Immortal and a Mortal Being: That there cannot be in Nature ſo vaſt a flaw, without ſome intermedial kind of life, partaking of them both; as therefore we find the intercourſe betwixt the Soul and Body to be made by the Animal Spirits, ſo betwixt Divinity and Humanity there is the ſpecies of *Dæmons*: Who, having firſt been Men, and following the ſtrict Rules of Virtue, had purg'd off the groſſneſs and feculency of their Earthly Being, are exalted into theſe *Genii*, and are from thence either rais'd higher into an Ætherial Life, if they ſtill continue virtuous, or tumbled down again into mortal Bodies, and ſinking into fleſh after they have loſt that Purity, which conſtituted their glorious Being. And this ſort of *Genii* are thoſe, who, as our Author imagines, preſided over Oracles: Spirits which have ſo much of their terreſtrial Principles remaining in them, as to be ſubject to paſſions and inclinations, uſually Beneficent, ſometimes Malevolent to Mankind, according as they refine themſelves, or gather droſs, and are declining into Mortal Bodies. The Ceſſation, or rather the Decreaſe of Oracles, (for ſome of them were ſtill remaining in *Plutarch*'s time) he attributes either to the death of thoſe *Dæmons*, as appears by the ſtory of the *Egyptian Thamus*, who was commanded to declare, that the great God *Pan* was dead, or to their forſaking of thoſe places, where

where they formerly gave out their Oracles; from whence they were driven by ſtronger *Genii*, into baniſhment for a certain Revolution of Ages. Of this laſt nature was the War of the Giants againſt the Gods, the diſpoſſeſſion of *Saturn* by *Jupiter*, the baniſhment of *Apollo* from Heaven, the fall of *Vulcan*, and many others; all which, according to our Author, were the Battles of theſe *Genii* or *Dæmons*, amongſt themſelves. But ſuppoſing, as *Plutarch* evidently does, that theſe Spirits adminiſter'd, under the ſupreme Being, the affairs of Men, taking care of the Virtuous, puniſhing the Bad, and ſometimes communicating with the beſt; as particularly, the Genius of *Socrates* always warn'd him of approaching dangers, and taught him to avoid them.

I cannot but wonder, that every one who has hitherto written *Plutarch*'s Life, and particularly *Rualdus*, the moſt knowing of them all, ſhould ſo confidently affirm, that theſe Oracles were given by bad Spirits, according to *Plutarch:* As Chriſtians, indeed we may think them ſo; but that *Plutarch* ſo thought, is a moſt apparent falſhood: 'Tis enough to convince a reaſonable Man, that our Author in his old Age, (and that then he doted not, we may ſee by the Treatiſe he has written, that old Men ought to have the management of publick Affairs) I ſay, that then he initiated himſelf in the ſacred Rites of *Delphos*; and died, for ought we know, *Apollo*'s *Prieſt*. Now it is not to be imagin'd, that he thought the *God* he ſerv'd a *Cacodæmon*, or as we call him a *Devil*. Nothing could be farther from the opinion and practice of this holy Philoſopher than ſo groſs an impiety. The Story of the *Pythias*, or *Prieſteſs* of *Apollo*, which he relates immediately before the ending of that Treatiſe, concerning the Ceſſation of Oracles, confirms my Aſſertion rather than ſhakes it: For 'tis there deliver'd, "That going with "great reluctancy into the ſacred Place to be inſpir'd, "ſhe came out foaming at the Mouth, her Eyes gog-"ling, her Breaſt heaving, her Voice undiſtinguiſhable:

" and ſhrill, as if ſhe had an Earthquake within her, " labouring for vent; and in ſhort, that thus tormented " with the God, whom ſhe was not able to ſupport, " ſhe died diſtracted in few days after." For he had ſaid before, " that the Divineress ought to have no " perturbations of mind, or impure paſſions at the time " when ſhe was to conſult the Oracle; and if ſhe had, " ſhe was no more fit to be inſpir'd, than an Inſtru- " ment untun'd, to render an harmonious Sound:" And he gives us to ſuſpect, by what he ſays at the cloſe of this Relation, " That this *Pythias* had not liv'd " chaſtly for ſome time before it. So that her death " appears more like a puniſhment inflicted for looſe " living by ſome holy power, than the mere malignancy " of a Spirit delighted naturally in miſchief." There is another Obſervation which indeed comes nearer to their purpoſe, which I will digreſs ſo far as to relate, becauſe it ſomewhat appertains to our own Country: " There are many Iſlands *(ſays he)* which lie ſcatter'd " about *Britain*, after the manner of our *Sporades*: " They are unpeopled, and ſome of them are call'd " the Iſlands of the Heroes, or the *Genii*." One *Demetrius* was ſent by the Emperor, (who by computation of the time muſt either be *Caligula*, or *Claudius*) to diſcover thoſe parts, and arriving at one of the Iſlands next adjoining to the forementiond, which was inhabited by ſome few *Britons*, (but thoſe held ſacred and inviolable by all their Country-men,) immediately after his arrival, the air grew black and troubled, ſtrange Apparitions were ſeen, the Winds rais'd a Tempeſt, and fiery Spouts or Whirlwinds appear'd dancing towards the Earth. When theſe Prodigies were ceas'd, the Iſlanders inform'd him, that ſome one of the aerial Beings, ſuperior to our Nature, then ceas'd to live. For as a Taper, while yet burning, affords a pleaſant harmleſs light, but is noiſome and offenſive when extinguiſh'd, ſo thoſe Heroes ſhine benignly on us, and do us good, but at their death turn all things topſy-turvy, raiſe up Tempeſts, and infect the air with peſtilential

Vapours.

Vapours. By thoſe holy and inviolable men, there is no queſtion but he means our *Druydes*, who are neareſt to the *Pythagoreans* of any Sect; and this opinion of the *Genii* might probably be one of theirs: Yet it proves not that all *Dæmons* were thus malicious; only thoſe who were to be condemn'd hereafter into human bodies, for their miſdemeanours in their aerial Being. But 'tis time to leave a ſubject, ſo very fanciful, and ſo little reaſonable as this: I am apt to imagine the natural Vapours ariſing in the Cave where the Temple afterwards was built, might work upon the Spirits of thoſe who enter'd the holy place, as they did on the Shepherd *Coretas*, who firſt found it out by accident; and incline them to *Enthuſiaſm* and prophetick Madneſs. That as the ſtrength of thoſe Vapours diminiſh'd, (which were generally in Caverns, as that of *Mopſus*, of *Trophonius*, and this of *Delphos*) ſo the Inſpiration decreas'd by the ſame meaſures: That they happen'd to be ſtronger, when they kill'd the *Pythias*, who being conſcious of this, was ſo unwilling to enter. That the Oracles ceas'd to be given in Verſe, when Poets ceas'd to be the Prieſts; and that the Genius of *Socrates* (whom he confeſs'd never to have ſeen, but only to have heard inwardly, and unperceiv'd by others) was no more than the ſtrength of his imagination; or to ſpeak in the Language of a Chriſtian *Platoniſt*, his Guardian Angel.

I pretend not to an exactneſs of method in this Life, which I am forc'd to collect by patches from ſeveral Authors; and therefore without much regard to the connexion of times which are ſo uncertain.

I will in the next place ſpeak of his Marriage. His Wife's name, her Parentage, and Dowry, are no where mention'd by him, or any other, nor in what part of his Age he married; though 'tis probable, in the flower of it: But *Rualdus* has ingeniouſly gather'd, from a convincing circumſtance, that ſhe was called *Timoxena*: Becauſe *Plutarch*, in a Conſolatory Letter to her, occaſion'd by the Death of their Daughter in her Infancy,

uſes

uſes theſe words: *Your* Timoxena *is depriv'd (by death) of ſmall enjoyments; for the things ſhe knew were of ſmall moment, and ſhe could be delighted only with trifles.* Now it appears by the Letter, that the Name of this Daughter was the ſame with her Mother's, therefore it could be no other than *Timoxena*. Her Knowledge, her conjugal Virtues, her Abhorrency from the Vanities of her Sex, and from Superſtition, her Gravity in Behaviour, and her Conſtancy in ſupporting the loſs of Children, are likewiſe celebrated by our Author. No other Wife of *Plutarch* is found mention'd; and therefore we may conclude he had no more: By the ſame reaſon for which we judge, that he had no other Maſter than *Ammonius*, becauſe 'tis evident he was ſo grateful in his Nature, that he would have preſerv'd their Memory.

The number of his Children was at leaſt five; ſo many being mentioned by him. Four of them were Sons; of the other Sex only *Timoxena*, who died at two years old, as is manifeſt from the Epiſtle above-mentioned. The *French* Tranſlator *Amiot*, from whom our old *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Lives was made, ſuppoſes him to have had another Daughter, where he ſpeaks of his Son-in-law *Crato*. But the word γαμβρὸς, which *Plutarch* there uſes, is of a large ſignification; for it may as well be expounded Father-in-law, his Wife's Brother, or his Siſter's Husband, as *Budæus* notes: This I the rather mention, becauſe the ſame *Amiot* is task'd for an infinite number of miſtakes, by his own Countrymen of the preſent Age; which is enough to recommend this Tranſlation of our Author into the *Engliſh* Tongue, being not from any Copy, but from the *Greek* Original. Two other Sons of *Plutarch* were already deceas'd, before *Timoxena*. His eldeſt *Autobulus*, mention'd in his *Sympoſiaques*, and another whoſe Name is not recorded. The youngeſt was called *Charon*, who alſo died in his Infancy: The two remaining are ſuppos'd to have ſurviv'd him. The Name of one was *Plutarch*, after his own; and that

of the other *Lamprias*, ſo call'd in Memory of his Grandfather. This was he, of all his Children, who ſeems to have inherited his Father's Philoſophy: And to him we owe the Table or Catalogue of *Plutarch*'s Writings, and perhaps alſo the *Apothegms*. His Nephew, but whether by his Brother or Siſter remains uncertain, was *Sextus Chæroneus*, who was much honour'd by that learned Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and who taught him the *Greek* Tongue, and the Principles of Philoſophy: This Emperor profeſſing *Stoiciſm*, (as appears by his Writings) inclines us to believe, that our *Sextus Chæroneus* was of the *Stoick* Sect; and conſequently, that the World has generally been miſtaken, in ſuppoſing him to have been the ſame Man with *Sextus Empiricus* the *Sceptick*; whom *Suidas* plainly tells us to have been an *African*: Now *Empiricus* cou'd not but be a *Sceptick*, for he oppoſes all Dogmatiſts, and particularly them. But I heard it firſt obſerv'd by an ingenious and learned old Gentleman lately deceas'd, that many of Mr. *Hobbs* his ſeeming new Opinions, are gather'd from thoſe which *Sextus Empiricus* expos'd. The Book is extant, and I refer the Curious to it, not pretending to arraign, or to excuſe him. Some think the famous Critick *Longinus* was of *Plutarch*'s Family, deſcended from a Siſter of his; but the proofs are ſo weak, that I will not inſert them: They may both of them rely on their proper merits; and ſtand not in want of a Relation to each other. 'Tis needleſs to inſiſt on his Behaviour in his Family: His Love to his Wife, his Indulgence to his Children, his Care of their Education, are all manifeſt in that part of his Works which is call'd his Morals. Other parts of his Diſpoſition have been touch'd already; as that he was courteous and humane to all Men; free from inconſtancy, anger, and the deſire of revenge: which qualities of his, as they have been prais'd by the Authority of other Writers, may alſo be recommended from his own Teſtimony of himſelf. *I had rather*, ſays he, *be forgotten in the memory of Men, and that it ſhou'd be ſaid, There*

There neither is, nor was a Man call'd Plutarch, *than that they ſhould report this* Plutarch *was unconſtant, changeable in his temper, prone to anger and revenge on the leaſt occaſion.* What he was to his Slaves you may believe from this, that in general he accuſes thoſe Maſters of extreme hardneſs and injuſtice, who uſe Men like Oxen; ſell them in their age, when they can drudge no longer. *A Man,* ſays he, *of a merciful diſpoſition, ought not to retrench the fodder from his Cattle, nor the Provender from his Horſes when they can work no longer, but to cheriſh them when worn out and old.* Yet *Plutarch,* tho' he knew how to moderate his anger, was not, on the contrary, ſubject to an inſenſibility of wrongs; not ſo remiſs in exacting duty, or ſo tame in ſuffering the diſobedience of his Servants, that he cou'd not correct when they deſerv'd it: As is manifeſt from the following ſtory, which *Aulus Gellius* had from the mouth of *Taurus* the Philoſopher concerning him. Plutarch *had a certain Slave, a ſaucy ſtubborn kind of Fellow; in a word, one of thoſe pragmatical Servants, who never make a fault, but they give a reaſon for it: his juſtification one time wou'd not ſerve his turn, but his Maſter commanded him to be ſtrip'd; and that the Law ſhould be laid on his backſide. He no ſooner felt the ſmart, but he mutter'd that he was unjuſtly puniſh'd, and that he had done nothing to deſerve the Scourge. At laſt he began to bawl out louder; and, leaving off his groaning, his ſighs and his lamentations, to argue the matter with more ſhew of Reaſon; And as, under ſuch a Maſter, he muſt needs have gain'd a ſmattering of Learning, he cry'd out, that* Plutarch *was not the Philoſopher he pretended himſelf to be; that he had heard him waging War againſt all the paſſions, and maintaining that Anger was unbecoming a wiſe Man: Nay, that he had written a particular Treatiſe, in commendation of Clemency. That therefore he contradicted his Precepts by his Practices; ſince abandoning himſelf over to his Choler, he exercis'd ſuch inhuman cruelty on the body of his Fellow-Creature. How's this,* (Mr. *Varlet*)

anſwer'd

anſwer'd *Plutarch*, *by what ſigns and tokens can you prove I am in paſſion? Is it by my Countenance, my Voice, the colour of my Face, by my Words, or by my Geſtures, that you have diſcover'd this my Fury? I am not of opinion, that my Eyes ſparkle, that I foam at Mouth, that I gnaſh my Teeth, or that my Voice is more vehement, or that my Colour is either more pale, or more red than at other times; that I either ſhake or ſtamp with madneſs, that I ſay or do any thing unbecoming a Philoſopher: Theſe, if you know them not, are the Symptoms of a Man in rage: in the mean time (turning to the Officer who ſcourg'd him) while he and I diſpute this matter, mind you your buſineſs on his back.*

His love to his Friends and his gratitude to his Benefactors are every where obſervable, in his Dedications of his ſeveral Works; and the particular Treatiſes he has written to them on ſeveral occaſions, are all ſuitable either to the Characters of the Men, or to their preſent Condition, and the Circumſtances under which they were. His love to his Country is from hence conſpicuous, that he profeſſes to have written the Life of *Lucullus*, and to have preſerv'd the memory of his Actions, becauſe of the favours he confer'd on the City of *Chæronea*; which tho' his Country receiv'd ſo long before, yet he thought it appertain'd to him to repay them, and took an intereſt in their acknowledgment. As alſo, that he vindicated the *Bœotians* from the Calumnies of *Herodotus* the Hiſtorian, in his Book concerning the malignity of that Author. In which 'tis obſervable, that his zeal to his Country tranſported him too far; for *Herodotus* had ſaid no more of them than what was generally held to be true in all Ages, concerning the groſsneſs of their wits, their voracity, and thoſe other national Vices, which we have already noted on this Account; therefore *Petrarch* has accus'd our Author of the ſame malignity, for which he tax'd *Herodotus*: But they may both ſtand acquitted on different accounts: *Herodotus* for having given a true Character of the *Thebans*, and *Plutarch* for endeavouring to palliate

palliate the Vices of a People from whom he was deſcended. The reſt of his Manners, without entering into particulars, were unblameable, if we excuſe a little proneneſs to Superſtition; and regulating his Actions by his Dreams. But how far this will bear an accuſation I determine not, tho' *Tully* has endeavour'd to ſhew the vanity of Dreams, in his Treatiſe of *Divinations*, whither I refer the Curious.

On what occaſion he repair'd to *Rome*, at what time of his Age he came thither, how long he dwelt there, how often he was there, and in what year he return'd to his own Country, are all uncertain: This we know, That when *Nero* was in *Greece*, which was in his eleventh and twelfth years, our Author was at *Delphos*, under *Ammonius*, his Maſter; as appears by the diſputation then manag'd, concerning the Inſcription of the two Letters E I. *Nero* not living long afterwards, 'tis almoſt indiſputable, that he came not to *Rome* in all his Reign. 'Tis improbable that he wou'd undertake the Voyage during the troubleſome times of *Galba*, *Otho* and *Vitellius*; and we are not certain, that he liv'd in *Rome* in the Empire of *Veſpaſian*: Yet we may gueſs, that the mildneſs of this Emperor's Dominion, his Fame, and the Virtues of his Son *Titus*, aſſum'd into the Empire afterwards by his Father, might induce *Plutarch*, amongſt other conſiderations, to take this Journey in his time. 'Tis argu'd from the following ſtory, related by himſelf, that he was at *Rome*, either in the joint Reign of the two *Veſpaſians*, or at leaſt in that of the Survivor *Titus*. He ſays then, in his laſt Book concerning *Curioſity*: "Reaſoning, or rather reading "once at *Rome*, *Arulenus Ruſticus*, the ſame Man whom "afterwards *Domitian* put to death out of envy to his "Glory, ſtood hearkening to me amongſt my Audi-"tors: It ſo happen'd that a Soldier, having Letters "for him from the Emperor, (who was either *Titus*, or his Father *Veſpaſian*, as *Rualdus* thinks) "broke "thro' the crowd, to deliver him thoſe Letters from "the Emperor. Obſerving this, I made a pauſe in my "diſſertation,

" diſſertation, that *Ruſticus* might have the leiſure to " read the Mandate which was ſent him; but he ab- " ſolutely refus'd to do it, neither wou'd he be in- " treated to break the Seals till I had wholly made an " end of my Speech, and diſmiſs'd the Company." Now I ſuppoſe the ſtreſs of the Argument, to prove that this Emperor was not *Domitian*, lies only in this Clauſe (*whom* Domitian *afterwards put to death:*) but I think it rather leaves it doubtful, for they might be *Domitian*'s Letters which he then receiv'd, and conſequently he might not come to *Rome* till the Reign of that Emperor. This *Ruſticus* was not only a learned but a good Man: He had been *Tribune* of the people under *Nero*, was *Prætor* in the time of *Vitellius*, and ſent Ambaſſador to the Forces, rais'd under the Name of *Veſpaſian*, to perſuade them to a Peace. What Offices he bore afterwards we know not, but the cauſe of his death, beſides the envy of *Domitian* to his Fame, was a certain Book, or ſome Commentaries of his, wherein he had prais'd too much the Sanctity of *Thraſea Pætus* whom *Nero* had murder'd: And the praiſe of a good Citizen was inſupportable to the Tyrant; being, I ſuppoſe, exaſperated farther by ſome reflexions of *Ruſticus*, who could not commend *Thraſea*, but at the ſame time he muſt inveigh againſt the Oppreſſor of the *Roman* Liberty. That *Plutarch* was married in his own Country, and that before he came to *Rome*, is probable; that the Fame of him was come before him, by reaſon of ſome part of his Works already publiſh'd, is alſo credible, becauſe he had ſo great reſort of the *Roman* Nobility, to hear him read immediately, as we believe, upon his coming: That he was invited thither by the correſpondence he had with *Soſſius Senecio*, might be one reaſon of his undertaking that Journey, is almoſt undeniable. It likewiſe appears he was divers times at *Rome*; and perhaps, before he came to inhabit there, might make acquaintance with this worthy Man *Senecio*, to whom he Dedicated almoſt all theſe Lives of *Greeks* and *Romans*. I ſay almoſt all, becauſe one of

them, namely that of *Aratus*, is inſcrib'd in moſt expreſs Words to *Polycrates* the *Sicyonian*, the great Grandſon of the ſaid *Aratus*. This worthy Patron and Friend of *Plutarch*, *Senecio*, was four times Conſul; the firſt time in the ſhort Reign of *Cocceius Nerva*, a virtuous and a learned Emperor; which opinion I rather follow than that of *Aurelius Caſſiodorus*, who puts back his Conſulſhip into the laſt of *Domitian*, becauſe it is not probable that vicious Tyrant ſhould exalt to that Dignity a Man of Virtue. This year falls in with the year of Chriſt ninety nine.

But the great inducement of our Author to this Journey, was certainly the deſire he had to lay in materials for his *Roman* Lives; that was the deſign which he had form'd early, and on which he had reſolv'd to build his Fame. Accordingly we have obſerv'd that he had travell'd over *Greece* to peruſe the Archives of every City; that he might be able to write properly, not only the Lives of his *Grecian Worthies*, but the Laws, the Cuſtoms, the Rites and Ceremonies of every place. Which that he might treat with the ſame Maſtery of skill, when he came to draw his *Parallels* of the *Romans*, he took the invitation of his Friends, and particularly of our *Soſſius Senecio*, to viſit this Miſtreſs of the World, this imperial City of *Rome*; and, by the favour of many great and learned men then living, to ſearch the Records of the Capitol, and the Libraries, which might furniſh him with Inſtruments for ſo noble an undertaking. But that this may not ſeem to be my own bare Opinion, or that of any modern Author whom I follow, *Plutarch* himſelf has deliver'd it as his motive, in the life of *Demoſthenes*: The words are theſe: "Whoſoever deſigns to write a Hiſtory, (which "'tis impoſſible to form to any excellency from thoſe "materials that are ready at hand, or to take from "common report, while he ſits lazily at home in his "own Study, but muſt of neceſſity be gather'd from "Foreign Obſervations, and the ſcatter'd Writings of "various Authors) it concerns him to take up his Ha-

"bitation

" bitation in ſome renown'd and populous City, where " he may command all ſorts of Books, and be ac- " quainted alſo with ſuch particulars as have eſcap'd " the Pens of Writers, and are only extant in the me- " mories of Men. Let him inquire diligently, and " weigh judiciouſly, what he hears and reads, leſt he " publiſh a lame Work, and be deſtitute of thoſe helps " which are requir'd to its perfection." 'Tis then moſt probable, that he paſs'd his days at *Rome*, either in reading Philoſophy of all kinds to the *Roman* Nobility, who frequented his Houſe, and heard him, as if there were ſomewhat more than human in his words; and his Nights (which were his only hours of private Study) in ſearching and examining Records concerning *Rome*. Not but that he was intruſted alſo with the management of publick Affairs in the Empire, during his reſidence in the Metropolis: Which may be made out by what *Suidas* relates of him. *Plutarch* (ſays he) *liv'd in the time of* Trajan, *and alſo before his Reign: That Emperor beſtow'd on him the Dignity of Conſul*, (tho' the *Greek*, I ſuppoſe, will bear, that he made him Conſul with himſelf, at leaſt transfer'd that honour on him:) *An Edict was alſo made in favour of him, That the Magiſtrates or Officers of* Illyria *ſhould do nothing in that Province without the knowledge and approbation of* Plutarch. Now 'tis my particular gueſs (for I have not read it any where) that *Plutarch* had the affairs of *Illyria* (now called *Sclavonia*) recommended to him; becauſe *Trajan*, we know, had Wars on that ſide the Empire, with *Decebalus* King of *Dacia*; after whoſe defeat and death, the Province of *Illyria* might ſtand in need of *Plutarch*'s Wiſdom to compoſe and civilize it. But this is only hinted, as what poſſibly might be the reaſon of our Philoſopher's ſuperintendency in thoſe quarters; which the *French* Author of his Life ſeems to wonder at, as having no relation either to *Chæronea* or *Greece*.

When he was firſt made known to *Trajan*, is like the reſt uncertain, or by what means, whether by *Se-*

necio, or any other, he was introduc'd to his acquaintance: But 'tis moſt likely, that *Trajan*, then a private Man, was one of his Auditors, amongſt others of the Nobility of *Rome*. 'Tis alſo thought, this wiſe Emperor made uſe of him in all his Counſels, and that the happineſs which attended him in his undertakings, together with the adminiſtration of the Government, which in all his Reign was juſt and regular, proceeded from the inſtructions which were given him by *Plutarch*. *Johannes Sarisberienſis*, who liv'd above ſix hundred years ago, has tranſcrib'd a Letter written, as he ſuppos'd, by our Author to that Emperor: Whence he had it, is not known, nor the Original in *Greek* to be produc'd; but it paſs'd for genuine in that Age, and if not *Plutarch*'s, is at leaſt worthy of him, and what might well be ſuppos'd a Man of his Character would write; for which reaſon I have here tranſlated it.

Plutarch *to* Trajan.

I Am ſatisfied that your Modeſty ſought not the Empire, which yet you have always ſtudied to deſerve by the Excellency of your Manners. And by ſo much the more are you eſteem'd worthy of this Honour, by how much you are free from the Ambition of deſiring it. I therefore congratulate both your Virtue, and my own good Fortune, if at leaſt your future Government ſhall prove anſwerable to your former Merit: Otherwiſe you have involv'd yourſelf in Dangers, and ſhall infallibly be ſubject to the Cenſures of detracting Tongues; becauſe Rome *will never ſupport an Emperor unworthy of her, and the Faults of the Scholar will be upbraided to the Maſter. Thus* Seneca *is reproach'd, and his Fame ſtill ſuffers for the Vices of* Nero. *The Miſcarriages of* Quintilian's *Scholars have been thrown on him, and even* Socrates *himſelf is not free from the Imputation of Remiſſneſs, on the account of his Pupil* (Alcibiades). *But you will certainly adminiſter all things as becomes you, if you ſtill continue what you are, if you recede not from your-*

ſelf,

ſelf, if you begin at home, and lay the Foundation of Government on the Command of your own Paſſions, if you make Virtue the Scope of all your Actions, they will all proceed in Harmony and Order: I have ſet before you the force of Laws and Civil Conſtitutions of your Predeceſſors; which if you imitate and obey, Plutarch *is then your Guide of Living; if otherwiſe, let this preſent Letter be my Teſtimony againſt you, that you ſhall not ruin the* Roman *Empire, under the pretence of the Counſel and Authority of* Plutarch.

It may be conjectur'd, and with ſome ſhew of probability, from hence, that our Author not only collected his materials, but alſo made a rough draught of many of theſe parallel Lives at *Rome*, and that he read them to *Trajan* for his inſtruction in Government: and ſo much the rather I believe it, becauſe all Hiſtorians agree, that this Emperor, tho' naturally prudent and inclin'd to Virtue, had more of the Soldier than the Scholar in his Education, before he had the Happineſs to know *Plutarch*; for which Reaſon the *Roman* Lives, and the Inſpection into ancient Laws, might be of neceſſary uſe to his Direction. And now for the time of our Author's abode in the Imperial City; if he came ſo early as *Veſpaſian*, and departed not till after *Trajan*'s Death, as is generally thought, he might continue in *Italy* near forty Years. This is more certain, becauſe gather'd from himſelf, that his Lives were almoſt the lateſt of his Works; and therefore we may well conclude, that having model'd, but not finiſh'd them at *Rome*, he afterwards reſum'd the Work in his own Country; which perfecting in his old Age, he dedicated to his Friend *Senecio* ſtill living, as appears by what he has written in the Proem to his Lives.

The deſire of viſiting his own Country, ſo natural to all Men, and the Approaches of old Age, (for he could not be much leſs than ſixty) and perhaps alſo the Death of *Trajan*, prevail'd with him at laſt to leave *Italy*; or if you will have it in his own words, *he was not*

willing his little City ſhould be one the leſs by his abſence. After his return, he was, by the unanimous Conſent of his Citizens, choſen *Archon*, or Chief Magiſtrate of *Chæronea*; and not long after admitted himſelf into the number of *Apollo*'s Prieſts: in both which Employments he ſeems to have continu'd till his Death. Of which we have no particular Account, either as to the manner of it, or the year; only 'tis evident, that he liv'd to a great old Age, always continuing his Studies: that he died a natural Death, is only preſum'd, becauſe any violent Accident to ſo famous a Man would have been recorded. And in whatſoever Reign he deceas'd, the days of Tyranny were over-paſs'd, and there was then a golden *Series* of Emperors, every one emulating his Predeceſſor's Virtues.

Thus I have collected from *Plutarch* himſelf, and from the *beſt Authors*, what was moſt remarkable concerning him. In performing which, I have labour'd under ſo many Uncertainties, that I have not been able to ſatisfy my own Curioſity, any more than that of others. 'Tis the Life of a Philoſopher, not vary'd with Accidents to divert the Reader: More pleaſant for himſelf to live, than for an Hiſtorian to deſcribe. Thoſe Works of his, which are irrecoverably loſt, are nam'd in the Catalogue made by his Son *Lamprias*, which you will find in the *Paris* Edition, dedicated to King *Lewis* the Thirteenth; But 'tis a ſmall Comfort to a Merchant, to peruſe his Bill of Fraight, when he is certain his Ship is caſt away: Mov'd by the like reaſon, I have omitted that ungrateful Task. Yet that the Reader may not be impos'd on, in thoſe which yet remain, 'tis but reaſonable to let him know, that the Lives of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, tho' they paſs with the ignorant for genuine, are only the Forgery of *Donato Acciaiolo*, a *Florentine*. He pretends to have tranſlated them from a *Greek* Manuſcript, which none of the Learned have ever ſeen, either before, or ſince. But the Cheat is more manifeſt from this reaſon which is undeniable, that *Plutarch* did indeed write the Life of

Scipio,

Scipio, but he compar'd him not with *Hannibal*, but with *Epaminondas*: As appears by the Catalogue, or Nomenclatura of *Plutarch*'s Lives, drawn up by his Son *Lamprias*, and yet extant. But to make this out more clearly, we find the *Florentine*, in his Life of *Hannibal*, thus relating the famous Conference betwixt *Scipio* and him. "*Scipio* at that time being ſent Ambaſſador from "the *Romans*, to King *Antiochus*, with *Publius Villius*; "it happen'd, that theſe two great Captains met toge- "ther at *Epheſus*, and amongſt other Diſcourſe, it was "demanded of *Hannibal* by *Scipio*, whom he thought "to have been the greateſt Captain? To whom he thus "anſwer'd: In the firſt place *Alexander* of *Macedon*; "in the ſecond, *Pyrrhus* of *Epirus*; and in the third, "himſelf. To which, *Scipio*, ſmiling, thus reply'd: "And what would you have thought, had it been your "fortune to have vanquiſh'd me? To whom *Hannibal*, "I ſhould then have adjudg'd the firſt place to myſelf: "Which Anſwer was not a little pleaſing to *Scipio*, be- "cauſe by it he found himſelf not diſeſteem'd, nor put "into compariſon with the reſt, but by the Delicacy and "Gallantry of a well-turn'd Compliment, ſet like a "Man Divine above them all.

Now this Relation is a mere Compendium of the ſame Conference from *Livy*. But if we can conceive *Plutarch* to have written the Life of *Hannibal*, 'tis hard to believe, that he ſhould tell the ſame Story after ſo different, or rather ſo contrary, a manner, in another place. For, in the Life of *Pyrrhus*, he thus writes: "*Hannibal* adjudg'd the Preeminence to *Pyrrhus* above "all Captains, in Conduct and Military Skill: next to "*Pyrrhus* he plac'd *Scipio*, and after *Scipio* himſelf;" as we have declar'd in the Life of *Scipio*. 'Tis not that I would excuſe *Plutarch*, as if he never related the ſame thing diverſly: for 'tis evident, that through want of Advertency he has been often guilty of that Error, of which the Reader will find too frequent Examples in theſe Lives; but in this place he cannot be charg'd with want of Memory or Care, becauſe what he ſays here,

is

is relating to what he had ſaid formerly. So that he may miſtake the Story, as I believe he has done, (that other of *Livy* being much more probable) but we muſt allow him to remember what he had before written. From hence I might take occaſion to note ſome other Lapſes of our Author, which yet amount not to falſification of Truth, much leſs to Partiality or Envy, (both which are manifeſt in his Countryman *Dion Caſſius*, who writ not long after him) but are only the Frailties of Human Nature; Miſtakes not intentional, but accidental. He was not altogether ſo well vers'd, either in the *Roman* Language, or in their Coins, or in the value of them; in ſome Cuſtoms, Rites, and Ceremonies, he took Paſſages on truſt from others, relating both to them and the *Barbarians*, which the Reader may particularly find recited in the Animadverſions of the often-prais'd *Rualdus* on our Author. I will name but one, to avoid Tediouſneſs, becauſe I particularly obſerv'd it, when I read *Plutarch* in the Library of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, (to which Foundation I gratefully acknowledge a great part of my Education;) 'tis that *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Cicero*, ſpeaking of *Verres*, who was accus'd by him, and repeating a miſerable Jeſt of *Tully*'s, ſays, that *Verres* in the *Roman* Language ſignifies a barrow Pig, that is, one which has been gelded. But we have a better account of the Signification from *Varro*, (whom we have more reaſon to believe,) that the Male of that kind, before he is cut, is call'd *Verres*; after cutting *Majalis*, which is perhaps a diminutive of *Mas*, tho' generally the reaſon of the Etymology is given from its being a Sacrifice to the Goddeſs *Maja*. Yet any Man, who will candidly weigh this and the like Errors, may excuſe *Plutarch*, as he would a Stranger miſtaking the Propriety of an *Engliſh* Word: And beſides the Humanity of this Excuſe, 'tis impoſſible in nature, that a Man of ſo various Learning and ſo covetous of ingroſſing all, ſhould perfectly digeſt ſuch an Infinity of Notions in many Sciences, ſince to be excellent in one is ſo great a labour.

It

It may now be expected, that having written the *Life* of an *Hiſtorian*, I ſhould take occaſion to write ſomewhat concerning Hiſtory itſelf. But I think to commend it is unneceſſary: For the Profit and Pleaſure of that Study are both ſo very obvious, that a quick Reader will be beforehand with me, and imagine faſter than I can write. Beſides, that Poſt is taken up already, and few Authors have travel'd this way, but who have ſtrew'd it with Rhetorick, as they paſs'd. For my own part, who muſt confeſs it to my ſhame, that I never read any thing but for Pleaſure, it has always been the moſt delightful Entertainment of my Life. But they who have employ'd the Study of it as they ought, for their Inſtruction, for the Regulation of their private Manners, and the Management of publick Affairs, muſt agree with me, that it is the moſt pleaſant School of Wiſdom.

'Tis a Familiarity with paſt Ages, and an Acquaintance with all the Heroes of them. 'Tis, if you will pardon the Similitude, a Proſpective-Glaſs carrying your Soul to a vaſt diſtance, and taking in the fartheſt Objects of Antiquity. It informs the Underſtanding by the Memory: It helps us to judge of what will happen, by ſhewing us the like Revolutions of former Times. For Mankind being the ſame in all Ages, agitated by the ſame Paſſions, and mov'd to Actions by the ſame Intereſts, nothing can come to paſs, but ſome Precedent of the like nature has already been produc'd; ſo that having the Cauſes before your Eyes, we cannot eaſily be deceiv'd in the Effects, if we have Judgment enough but to draw the Parallel.

God, 'tis true, with his Divine Providence, overrules and guides all Actions to the ſecret End he has ordain'd them; but in the way of human Cauſes, a wiſe Man may eaſily diſcern, that there is a natural Connexion betwixt them; and tho' he cannot foreſee Accidents, or all things that poſſibly can come, he may apply Examples, and by them foretel, that from the like Counſels will probably ſucceed the like Events: And thereby in all Concernments, and all Offices of Life, be

be inſtructed in the two main points, on which depends our Happineſs, that is, what to avoid and what to chooſe. The Laws of Hiſtory in general are Truth of Matter, Method, and Clearneſs of Expreſſion. The firſt Propriety is neceſſary to keep our Underſtandings from the Impoſitions of Falſhood: For Hiſtory is an Argument fram'd from many particular Examples, or Inductions: If theſe Examples are not true, then thoſe meaſures of Life, which we take from them, will be falſe, and deceive us in their Conſequence. The ſecond is grounded on the former; for if the Method be confuſed, if the Words or Expreſſions of Thought are any way obſcure, then the Ideas which we receive muſt be imperfect; and if ſuch, we are not taught by them what to elect, or what to ſhun. Truth therefore is requir'd, as the Foundation of Hiſtory, to inform us; Diſpoſition and Perſpicuity, as the Manner to inform us plainly: One is the Being, the other the Well-being of it. Hiſtory is principally divided into three theſe Species: *Commentaries* or *Annals*; *Hiſtory* properly ſo call'd; and *Biographia*, or the Lives of particular Men.

Commentaries or *Annals* are (as I may ſo call them) naked Hiſtory; or the plain Relation of Matter of Fact, according to the Succeſſion of Time, diveſted of all other Ornaments. The Springs and Motives of Actions are not here ſought, unleſs they offer themſelves, and are open to every Man's Diſcernment. The Method is the moſt natural that can be imagin'd, depending only on the Obſervation of Months and Years, and drawing, in the order of them, whatſoever happened worthy of Relation. The Style is eaſy, ſimple, unforc'd, and unadorn'd with the Pomp of Figures; Counſels, Gueſſes, politick Obſervations, Sentences, and Orations, are avoided: In few words, a bare Narration is its Buſineſs. Of this kind the *Commentaries of Cæſar* are certainly the moſt admirable; and after him the *Annals* of *Tacitus* may have place. Nay even the Prince of *Greek* Hiſtorians, *Thucydides*, may almoſt be adopted into the number. For tho' he inſtructs every where

where by Sentences, tho' he gives the Cauſes of Actions, the Counſels of both Parties, and makes Orations where they are neceſſary; yet it is certain, that he firſt deſign'd his Work a Commentary; every Year writing down, like an unconcern'd Spectator as he was, the particular Occurrences of the Time, in the order as they happen'd, and his Eighth Book is wholly written after the way of Annals; though, outliving the War, he inſerted in his others thoſe Ornaments which render his Work the moſt compleat, and moſt inſtructive now extant.

Hiſtory, properly ſo call'd, may be deſcrib'd by the Addition of thoſe Parts, which are not requir'd to *Annals*. And therefore there is little farther to be ſaid concerning it: Only that the Dignity and Gravity of Style is here neceſſary: That the Gueſſes of ſecret Cauſes, inducing to the Actions, be drawn at leaſt from the moſt probable Circumſtances, not perverted by the Malignity of the Author to ſiniſter Interpretations, of which *Tacitus* is accus'd; but candidly laid down, and left to the Judgment of the Reader. That nothing of Concernment be omitted, but things of trivial moment are ſtill to be neglected, as debaſing the Majeſty of the Work. That neither Partiality or Prejudice appear: But that Truth may every where be ſacred, (*ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat Hiſtoricus.*) That he neither incline to Superſtition, in giving too much Credit to Oracles, Prophecies, Divinations, and Prodigies; nor to Irreligion, in diſclaiming the Almighty Providence: But where general Opinion has prevail'd of any miraculous Accident or Portent, he ought to relate it as ſuch, without impoſing his Opinion on our Belief. Next to *Thucydides* in this kind may be accounted *Polybius* amongſt the *Grecians*: *Livy*, tho' not free from Superſtition, nor *Tacitus* from ill Nature, amongſt the *Romans*: Amongſt the modern *Italians*, *Guicchiardine*, and *D'Avilla*, if not partial; but above all Men, in my opinion, the plain, ſincere, unaffected, and moſt inſtructive *Philip de Comines* amongſt the *French*; tho' he only gives his Hiſtory the humble Name

Name of *Commentaries*. I am ſorry I cannot find in our own Nation (tho' it has produc'd ſome commendable Hiſtorians) any proper to be rank'd with theſe. *Buchanan* indeed for the Purity of his *Latin*, and for his Learning, and for all other Endowments belonging to an Hiſtorian, might be placed amongſt the greateſt, if he had not too much lean'd to Prejudice, and too manifeſtly declar'd himſelf a Party of a Cauſe, rather than an Hiſtorian of it. Excepting only that (which I deſire not to urge too far, on ſo great a Man, but only to give a Caution to his Readers concerning it) our Iſle may juſtly boaſt in him, a Writer comparable to any of the Moderns, and excell'd by few of the Ancients.

Biographia, or the Hiſtory of particular Mens Lives, comes next to be conſider'd; which in Dignity is inferior to the other two, as being more confin'd in Action, and treating of Wars and Counſels, and all other publick Affairs of Nations, only as they relate to him whoſe Life is written, or as his Fortunes have a particular Dependence on them, or Connexion to them: All things here are circumſcrib'd, and driven to a Point, ſo as to terminate in one: Conſequently if the Action or Counſel were manag'd by Collegues, ſome part of it muſt be either lame or wanting; except it be ſupply'd by the Excurſion of the Writer: Herein likewiſe muſt be leſs of variety for the ſame reaſon; becauſe the Fortunes and Actions of one Man are related, not thoſe of many. Thus the Actions and Achievements of *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, are all of them but the ſucceſſive Parts of the *Mithridatick* War: Of which we could have no perfect Image, if the ſame Hand had not given us the whole, tho' at ſeveral Views, in their particular Lives.

Yet, tho' we allow for the Reaſons above alledg'd, that this kind of Writing is in Dignity inferior to *Hiſtory* and *Annals*, in Pleaſure and Inſtruction it equals, or even excels both of them. 'Tis not only commended by ancient Practice, to celebrate the Memory of great and

and worthy Men, as the beſt Thanks which Poſterity can pay them: but alſo the Examples of Virtue are of more Vigour, when they are thus contracted into Individuals. As the Sun-beams, united in a Burning-glaſs to a Point, have greater Force than when they are darted from a plain Superficies; ſo the Virtues and Actions of one Man, drawn together into a ſingle ſtory, ſtrike upon our Minds a ſtronger and more lively Impreſſion, than the ſcatter'd Relations of many Men, and many Actions; and by the ſame means that they give us Pleaſure, they afford us Profit too. For when the Underſtanding is intent and fix'd on a ſingle thing, it carries cloſer to the Mark, every part of the Object ſinks into it, and the Soul receives it unmixt and whole. For this reaſon *Ariſtotle* commends the Unity of Action in a Poem; becauſe the Mind is not capable of digeſting many things at once, nor of conceiving fully any more than one Idea at a time. Whatſoever diſtracts the Pleaſure, leſſens it. And as the Reader is more concern'd at one Man's Fortune, than thoſe of many; ſo likewiſe the Writer is more capable of making a perfect Work, if he confine himſelf to this narrow Compaſs. The Lineaments, Features, and Colourings of a ſingle Picture, may be hit exactly; but in a Hiſtory-piece of many Figures, the general Deſign, the Ordinance or Diſpoſition of it, the Relation of one Figure to another, the Diverſity of the Poſture, Habits, Shadowings, and all the other Graces conſpiring to an Uniformity, are of ſo difficult Performance, that neither is the Reſemblance of particular Perſons often perfect, nor the Beauty of the Piece compleat: For any conſiderable Error in the Parts, renders the whole diſagreeable and lame. Thus then the Perfection of the Work, and the Benefit ariſing from it, are both more abſolute in *Biography* than in Hiſtory: All Hiſtory is only the Precepts of Moral Philoſophy reduc'd into Examples. *Moral Philoſophy* is divided into two Parts, *Ethicks* and *Politicks*: the firſt inſtructs us in our private Offices of Virtue; the ſecond in thoſe which relate to the Management of

the Commonwealth. Both of theſe teach by Argumentation and Reaſoning, which ruſh as it were into the Mind, and poſſeſs it with Violence: But Hiſtory rather allures than forces us to Virtue. There is nothing of the Tyrant in Example; but it gently glides into us, is eaſy and pleaſant in its Paſſage; and in one word, reduces into practice our ſpeculative Notions. Therefore the more powerful the Examples are, they are the more uſeful alſo: And by being more known, they are more powerful. Now Unity, which is defin'd, is in its own nature more apt to be underſtood than Multiplicity, which in ſome meaſure participates of Infinity. The reaſon is *Ariſtotle*'s.

Biographia, or the Hiſtories of particular Lives, tho' circumſcrib'd in the Subject, is yet more extenſive in the Style than the other two: For it not only comprehends them both, but has ſomewhat ſuperadded, which neither of them have. The Style of it is various, according to the Occaſion. There are proper Places in it, for the Plainneſs and Nakedneſs of Narration, which is aſcrib'd to Annals; there is alſo room reſerv'd for the Loftineſs and Gravity of general Hiſtory, when the Actions related ſhall require that manner of Expreſſion. But there is withal, a Deſcent into minute Circumſtances, and trivial Paſſages of Life, which are natural to this way of writing, and which the Dignity of the other two will not admit. There you are conducted only into the Rooms of State; here you are led into the private Lodgings of the Hero: You ſee him in his Undreſs, and are made familiar with his moſt private Actions and Converſations. You may behold a *Scipio* and a *Lelius* gathering Cockel-ſhells on the Shore; *Auguſtus* playing at Bounding-ſtones with Boys; and *Ageſilaus* riding on a Hobby-horſe among his Children. The Pageantry of Life is taken away; you ſee the poor reaſonable Animal, as naked as ever Nature made him; are made acquainted with his Paſſions and his Follies, and find the *Demi-God* a *Man*. *Plutarch* himſelf has more than once defended this kind of relating little Paſſages. For

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in the Life of *Alexander* he ſays thus: *In writing the Lives of Illuſtrious Men, I am not tied to the Laws of Hiſtory: Nor does it follow, that becauſe an Action is great, it therefore manifeſts the Greatneſs and Virtue of him who did it; but on the other ſide, ſometimes a word, or a caſual jeſt, betrays a Man more to our knowledge of him, than a Battle fought, wherein ten thouſand Men were ſlain, or ſacking of Cities, or a courſe of Victories.* In another place he quotes *Xenophon* on the like occaſion; "The ſayings of great Men, in their familiar "diſcourſes, and amidſt their Wine, have ſomewhat in "them, which is worthy to be tranſmitted to Poſterity. Our Author therefore needs no excuſe, but rather deſerves a commendation, when he relates, as pleaſant, ſome Sayings of his *Heroes*, which appear (I muſt confeſs it) very cold and inſipid mirth to us. For 'tis not his meaning to commend the Jeſt, but to paint the Man; beſides, we may have loſt ſomewhat of the Idiotiſm of that Language in which it was ſpoken; and where the conceit is couch'd in a ſingle word, if all the ſignifications of it are not critically underſtood, the grace and the pleaſantry are loſt. But in all parts of *Biography*, whether familiar or ſtately, whether ſublime or low, whether ſerious or merry, *Plutarch* equally excell'd: If we compare him to others, *Dion Caſſius* is not ſo ſincere: *Herodian*, a lover of truth, is oftentimes deceiv'd himſelf, with what he had falſly heard reported; then the time of his Emperors exceeds not in all above ſixty years; ſo that his whole Hiſtory will ſcarce amount to three Lives of *Plutarch*. *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* may be call'd alike, either Authors of Hiſtories, or Writers of Lives: But the firſt of them runs too willingly into obſcene Deſcriptions, which he teaches while he relates; the other, beſides what has already been noted of him, often falls into obſcurity: and both of them have made ſo unlucky a choice of times, that they are forc'd to deſcribe rather Monſters than Men; and their Emperors are either extravagant Fools, or Tyrants, and moſt uſually both. Our Author, on the contrary,

as he was more inclin'd to commend than to diſpraiſe, has generally choſen ſuch great Men as were famous for their ſeveral Virtues; at leaſt ſuch whoſe Frailties or Vices were over-pois'd by their Excellencies; ſuch, from whoſe Examples we may have more to follow than to ſhun, Yet, as he was impartial, he diſguis'd not the Faults of any Man. An Example of which is in the Life of *Lucullus*; where, after he has told us, that the double benefit which his Countrymen, the *Chæroneans*, receiv'd from him, was the chiefeſt motive which he had to write his Life, he afterwards rips up his Luxury, and ſhews how he loſt thro' his miſmanagement, his Authority, and his Soldiers love. Then he was more happy in his Digreſſions than any we have nam'd. I have always been pleas'd to ſee him, and his Imitator *Montaign*, when they ſtrike a little out of the common Road: For we are ſure to be the better for their wandring.

The beſt Quarry lies not always in the open Field: And who wou'd not be content to follow a good Huntſman over Hedges and Ditches, when he knows the Game will reward his Pains? But if we mark him more narrowly, we may obſerve, that the great reaſon of his frequent ſtarts, is the variety of his Learning: He knew ſo much of Nature, was ſo vaſtly furniſh'd with all the treaſures of the Mind, that he was uneaſy to himſelf, and was forc'd, as I may ſay, to lay down ſome at every paſſage, and to ſcatter his riches as he went: Like another *Alexander*, or *Adrian*, he built a City, or planted a Colony, in every part of his Progreſs; and left behind him ſome memorial of his greatneſs. *Sparta*, and *Thebes*, and *Athens*, and *Rome* the Miſtreſs of the World, he has diſcover'd in their Foundations, their Inſtitutions, their Growth, their Height, the Decay of the three firſt, and the Alteration of the laſt. You ſee thoſe ſeveral People in their different Laws and Policies, and Forms of Government, in their Warriors, and Senators, and Demagogues. Nor are the Ornaments of Poetry, and the Illuſtrations of Similitudes, for-

forgotten by him; in both which he inſtructs as well as pleaſes, or rather pleaſes that he may inſtruct.

This laſt Reflexion leads me naturally to ſay ſomewhat in general of his Style, tho' after having juſtly prais'd him for Copiouſneſs of Learning, Integrity, Perſpicuity, and more than all this, for a certain Air of Goodneſs which appears thro' all his Writings, it were unreaſonable to be critical on his Elocution: As on a Tree which bears excellent Fruit, we conſider not the Beauty of the Bloſſoms; for if they are not pleaſant to the Eye, or delightful to the Scent, we know at the ſame time, that they are not the prime Intention of Nature, but are thruſt out in order to their product: So in *Plutarch*, whoſe buſineſs was not to pleaſe the Ear, but to charm and to inſtruct the Mind, we may eaſily forgive the Cadences of words, and the Roughneſs of expreſſion; yet for Manlineſs of Eloquence, if it abounded not in our Author, it was not wanting in him: He neither ſtudied the ſublime Style, nor affected the flowry. The choice of Words, the numbers of Periods, the turns of Sentences, and thoſe other Ornaments of Speech, he neither ſought nor ſhun'd. But the depth of Senſe, the accuracy of Judgment, the diſpoſition of the Parts and contexture of the Whole, in ſo admirable and vaſt a Field of matter; and laſtly, the copiouſneſs and variety of words, appear ſhining in our Author. 'Tis indeed obſerv'd of him, that he keeps not always to the Style of Proſe; but if a Poetical word, which carries in it more of Emphaſis or Signification, offer itſelf at any time, he refuſes it not becauſe *Homer* or *Euripides* have us'd it: But if this be a fault, I know not how *Xenophon* will ſtand excuſed. Yet neither do I compare our Author with him, or with *Herodotus* in the ſweetneſs and graces of his Style, nor with *Thucydides* in the ſolidity and cloſeneſs of Expreſſion. For *Herodotus* is acknowledg'd the Prince of *Ionick*, the other two of the *Attick* Eloquence. As for *Plutarch*, his Style is ſo particular, that there is none of the Ancients, to whom we can properly reſemble him. And the reaſon of this is obvious; for

being converſant in ſo great variety of Authors, and collecting from all of them what he thought moſt excellent, out of the confuſion, or rather mixture of all their Styles, he form'd his own, which partaking of each, was yet none of them; but a compound of them all: like the *Corinthian* Metal, which had in it Gold, and Braſs, and Silver, and yet was a Species by itſelf. Add to this, that in *Plutarch*'s time, and long before it, the purity of the *Greek* Tongue was corrupted, and the native ſplendor of it had taken the tarniſh of *Barbariſm*, and contracted the filth and ſpots of degenerating Ages. For the fall of Empires always draws after it the Language and Eloquence of the People: They who labour under misfortunes or ſervitude, have little leiſure to cultivate their Mother Tongue. To conclude, when *Athens* had loſt her Sovereignty to the *Peloponneſians*, and her Liberty to *Philip*, neither a *Thucydides* nor a *Demoſthenes* were afterwards produc'd by her.

I have formerly acknowledg'd many lapſes of our Author, occaſion'd through his inadvertancy; but he is likewiſe tax'd with faults, which reflect on his Judgment in matters of fact, and his Candor in the compariſons of his *Greeks* and *Romans*. Both which are ſo well vindicated by *Montaign*, that I need but barely to tranſlate him. "Firſt then he is accus'd of want of "Judgment, in reporting things incredible: For proof "of which is alledg'd the ſtory he tells of the *Spartan* "Boy, who ſuffer'd his Bowels to be torn out by a "young Fox which he had ſtolen, chooſing rather to "hide him under his Garment till he died, than to confeſs his Robbery. In the firſt place this Example is "ill choſen, becauſe 'tis difficult to ſet a bound to the "force of our internal faculties, 'tis not defin'd how far "our reſolution may carry us to ſuffer: The force of "Bodies may more eaſily be determin'd than that of "Souls; Then of all People the *Lacedemonians*, by "reaſon of their rigid inſtitution, were moſt harden'd "to undergo Labours, and to ſuffer Pains. *Cicero*, be"fore our Author's time, tho' then the *Spartan* Vir-

"tue

" tue was degenerated, yet avows to have ſeen himſelf
" ſome *Lacedemonian* Boys, who, to make trial of their
" patience, were plac'd before the Altar of *Diana*,
" where they endur'd ſcourging, till they were all over
" bloody, and that not only without crying, but even
" without a ſigh or grone: Nay, and ſome of them ſo
" ambitious of this reputation, that they willingly re-
" ſign'd their Lives under the hands of their Tormen-
" tors. The ſame may be ſaid of another ſtory, which
" *Plutarch* vouches with a hundred Witneſſes, That in
" time of Sacrifice, a burning Coal by chance falling
" into the Sleeve of a *Spartan* Boy, who held the Cen-
" ſer, he ſuffer'd his Arm to be ſcorch'd ſo long with-
" out moving it, that the ſcent of it reak'd up to the
" Noſes of the Aſſiſtants.

" For my own part, who have taken in ſo vaſt an
" Idea of the *Lacedemonian* magnanimity, *Plutarch*'s
" ſtory is ſo far from ſeeming incredible to me, that I
" neither think it wonderful nor uncommon: For we
" ought not to meaſure poſſibilities or impoſſibilities by
" our own ſtandard, that is, by what we ourſelves
" cou'd do or ſuffer. Theſe, and ſome other ſlight
" Examples, are made uſe of, to leſſen the opinion
" of *Plutarch*'s Judgment: But the common exception
" againſt his Candor, is, that in his Parallels of *Greeks*
" and *Romans* he has done too much honour to his
" Countrymen, in matching them with Heroes, with
" whom they were not worthy to be compar'd. For
" inſtances of this, there are produc'd the compariſons
" of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, *Ariſtides* and *Cato*, *Lyſan-*
" *der* and *Sylla*, *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus*, *Ageſilaus* and
" *Pompey*: Now the ground of this Accuſation is moſt
" probably the luſtre of thoſe *Roman* Names, which
" ſtrikes on our Imagination. For what proportion of
" glory is there betwixt a *Roman Conſul*, or *Proconſul* of
" ſo great a Commonwealth, and a *ſimple Citizen* of
" *Athens*? But he who conſiders the truth more nearly,
" and weighs not Honours with Honours, but Men with
" Men, which was *Plutarch*'s main deſign, will find in

" the

" the Balance of their Manners, their Virtues, their " Endowments and Abilities, that *Cicero* and the *Elder* " *Cato* were far from having the overweight againſt *De-* " *moſthenes* and *Ariſtides*. I might as well complain " againſt him in behalf of his own Countrymen: For " neither was *Camillus* ſo famous as *Themiſtocles*; nor " were *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchus* comparable to *Agis* " and *Cleomenes*, in regard of Dignity: Much leſs was " the Wiſdom of *Numa* to be put in Balance againſt " that of *Lycurgus*, or the Modeſty and Temperance of " *Scipio*, againſt the ſolid Philoſophy and perfect Virtue " of *Epaminondas*: Yet the diſparity of Victories, the " Reputation, the blaze of Glory, in the two laſt, " were evidently on the *Roman* ſide. But as I ſaid be- " fore, to compare them this way, was the leaſt of " *Plutarch*'s aim; he openly declares againſt it: For " ſpeaking of the courſe of *Pompey*'s Fortune, his Ex- " ploits of War, the Greatneſs of the Armies which he " commanded, the Splendor and Number of his Tri- " umphs, in his compariſon betwixt him and *Ageſilaus*; " I believe, ſays he, that if *Xenophon* were now alive, " and would indulge himſelf the liberty to write all he " could to the advantage of his Hero *Ageſilaus*, he " would be aſham'd to put their acts in competition. " In his compariſon of *Sylla* and *Lyſander*; There is, " ſays he, no manner of equality, either in the number " of their Victories, or in the danger of their Battles; " for *Lyſander* only gain'd two Naval Fights, *&c.* Now " this is far from partiality to the *Grecians*. He who " wou'd convince him of this Vice, muſt ſhew us in " what particular Judgment he has been too favourable " to his Countrymen, and make it out in gneral where " he has fail'd in matching ſuch a *Greek* with ſuch a " *Roman*: which muſt be done by ſhewing how he " could have pair'd them better; and naming any other " in whom the reſemblance might have been more " perfect. But an equitable Judge, who takes things " by the ſame handle which *Plutarch* did, will find " there is no injury offer'd to either Party, tho' there

" be

" be ſome diſparity betwixt the Perſons: For he weighs
" every Circumſtance by itſelf, and judges ſeparately of
" it; not comparing Men at a lump, nor endeavouring
" to prove they were alike in all things, but allow-
" ing for diſproportion of quality or fortune, ſhewing
" wherein they agreed or diſagreed, and wherein one
" was to be prefer'd before the other.

I thought I had anſwer'd all that cou'd reaſonably be objected againſt our Author's Judgment; but caſually caſting my Eye on the Works of a *French* Gentleman, deſervedly famous for Wit and Criticiſm, I wonder'd, amongſt many Commendations of *Plutarch*, to find this one Reflexion. " As for his Compariſons, they ſeem
" truly to me very great; but I think he might have
" carried them yet farther, and have penetrated more
" deeply into human Nature: There are folds and re-
" ceſſes in our minds, which have eſcap'd him; he
" judges Man too much in groſs; and thinks him not
" ſo different, as he is often from himſelf: The ſame
" Perſon being juſt, unjuſt, merciful, and cruel; which
" qualities ſeeming to bely each other in him, he at-
" tributes their inconſiſtencies to foreign Cauſes: In
" fine, if he had deſcrib'd *Catiline*, he wou'd have
" given him to us, either Prodigal or Covetous; that
" *alieni appetens ſui profuſus*, was above his reach. He
" could never have reconcil'd thoſe contrarieties in the
" ſame ſubject, which *Saluſt* has ſo well unfolded, and
" which *Montaign* ſo much better underſtood.

This Judgment cou'd not have proceeded, but from a Man who has a nice taſte in Authors; and if it be not altogether juſt, 'tis at leaſt delicate: but I am confident, that if he pleaſe to conſider this following Paſſage taken out of the Life of *Sylla*, he will moderate, if not retract his cenſure.

" In the reſt of his manners he was unequal, irre-
" gular, different from himſelf: ἀνώμαλός τις ἦν,
" καὶ διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. He took many things by
" rapine, he gave more; honour'd Men immoderately,
" and us'd them contumeliouſly: Was ſubmiſſive to
" thoſe

" thoſe of whom he ſtood in need, inſulting over thoſe " who ſtood in need of him: So that it was doubtful, " whether he were more form'd by Nature to arro- " gance or flattery. As to his uncertain way of pu- " niſhing, he would ſometimes put men to death on " the leaſt occaſion; at other times he wou'd pardon " the greateſt crimes: So that judging him in the " whole, you may conclude him to have been naturally " Cruel, and prone to vengeance, but that he could " remit of his ſeverity, when his Intereſts requir'd it.

Here methinks our Author ſeems to have ſufficiently underſtood the folds and doubles of *Sylla*'s diſpoſition; for his Character is full of variety and inconſiſtencies. Yet in the concluſion, 'tis to be confeſs'd, that *Plutarch* has aſſign'd him a bloody Nature: The Clemency was but artificial and aſſum'd, the Cruelty was inborn. But this cannot be ſaid of his rapine, and his prodigality; for here the *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus*, is as plainly deſcrib'd, as if *Plutarch* had borrow'd the ſenſe from *Saluſt*: And as he was a great Collector, perhaps he did. Nevertheleſs he judg'd rightly of *Sylla*, that naturally he was Cruel: For that quality was predominant in him; and he was oftner revengeful than he was merciful. But this is ſufficient to vindicate our Author's Judgment from being ſuperficial; and I deſire not to preſs the Argument more ſtrongly againſt this Gentleman, who has honour'd our Country by his long Reſidence among us.

It ſeems to me, I muſt confeſs, that our Author has not been more hardly treated by his Enemies, in his comparing other Men, than he has been by his Friends, in their comparing *Seneca* with him. And herein even *Montaign* himſelf is ſcarcely to be defended. For no Man more eſteem'd *Plutarch*, no Man was better acquainted with his Excellencies, yet this notwithſtanding, he has done too great an honour to *Seneca*, by ranking him with our Philoſopher and Hiſtorian; him, I ſay, who was ſo much leſs a *Philoſopher*, and no *Hiſtorian*, 'Tis a Reputation to *Seneca*, that any one

one has offer'd at the Compariſon: The worth of his Adverſary makes his defeat advantageous to him; and *Plutarch* might cry out with Juſtice, *Qui cum victis erit, mecum certaſſe feretur.* If I had been to find out a parallel for *Plutarch*, I ſhould rather have pitch'd on *Varro* the moſt learned of the *Romans*, if at leaſt his Works had yet remain'd; or with *Pomponius Atticus*, if he had written. But the likeneſs of *Seneca* is ſo little, that except the one's being Tutor to *Nero*, and the other to *Trajan*, both of them ſtrangers to *Rome*, yet rais'd to the higheſt dignities in that City, and both Philoſophers, tho' of ſeveral Sects; (for *Seneca* was a *Stoick*, *Plutarch* a *Platoniſt*, at leaſt an Academick, that is, half *Platoniſt* half *Sceptick*:) beſides ſome ſuch faint reſemblances as theſe, *Seneca* and *Plutarch* ſeem to have as little Relation to one another, as their Native Country, *Spain* and *Greece*. If we conſider them in their inclinations or humours, *Plutarch* was ſociable and pleaſant, *Seneca* moroſe and melancholy: *Plutarch* a lover of Converſation and ſober Feaſts: *Seneca* reſerv'd; uneaſy to himſelf when alone, to others when in Company. Compare them in their manners, *Plutarch* every where appears candid, *Seneca* often is cenſorious. *Plutarch*, out of his natural humanity, is frequent in commending what he can; *Seneca*, out of the ſourneſs of his temper, is prone to Satire, and ſtill ſearching for ſome occaſion to vent his gaul. *Plutarch* is pleas'd with an opportunity of praiſing Virtue; and *Seneca* (to ſpeak the beſt of him) is glad of a pretence to reprehend Vice. *Plutarch* endeavours to teach others, but refuſes not to be taught himſelf; for he is always doubtful and inquiſitive: *Seneca* is altogether for teaching others, but ſo teaches them, that he impoſes his Opinions; for he was of a Sect too imperious and dogmatical, either to be taught or contradicted. And yet *Plutarch* writes like a Man of a confirm'd Probity, *Seneca* like one of a weak and ſtaggering Virtue. *Plutarch* ſeems to have vanquiſh'd Vice, and to have triumph'd over it: *Seneca* ſeems only to be combating

and

and reſiſting, and that too but in his own defence. Therefore *Plutarch* is eaſy in his Diſcourſe, as one who has overcome the difficulty: *Seneca* is painful, as he who ſtill labours under it. *Plutarch*'s Virtue is humble and civiliz'd; *Seneca*'s haughty and ill-bred. *Plutarch* allures you; *Seneca* commands you. One wou'd make Virtue your Companion, the other your Tyrant. The ſtyle of *Plutarch* is eaſy and flowing; that of *Seneca* precipitous and harſh. The firſt is even, the ſecond broken. The Arguments of the *Grecian* drawn from Reaſon, work themſelves into your underſtanding, and make a deep and laſting impreſſion in your mind; thoſe of the *Roman* drawn from Wit, flaſh immediately on your imagination, but leave no durable effect. So this tickles you by ſtarts with his arguteneſs, that pleaſes you for continuance with his propriety. The courſe of their fortunes ſeems alſo to have partaken of their Styles; for *Plutarch*'s was equal, ſmooth, and of the ſame tenor; *Seneca*'s was turbid, unconſtant, and full of revolution. The Life of *Plutarch* was unblameable, as the Reader cannot but have obſerv'd: and of all his Writings there is nothing to be noted as having the leaſt tendency to Vice; but only that little Treatiſe, which is intitled Ἐρωτικὸς, wherein he ſpeaks too broadly of a Sin, to which the Eaſtern and Southern parts of the World are moſt obnoxious: But *Seneca* is ſaid to have been more Libertine than ſuited with the gravity of a Philoſopher, or with the auſterity of a *Stoick*. An ingenious *Frenchman* eſteems, as he tells us, his Perſon rather than his Works; and values him more as the *Præceptor* of *Nero*, a Man ambitious of the Empire, and as the Gallant of *Agrippina*, than as a Teacher of Morality. For my part I dare not puſh the commendation ſo far; His Courage was perhaps praiſe-worthy, if he endeavour'd to deliver *Rome* from ſuch a Monſter of Tyranny, as *Nero* was then beginning to appear; his ambition too was the more excuſable, if he found in himſelf an ability of governing the World, and a deſire of doing good to Human Kind: But

But as to his good Fortunes with the Empreſs, I know not what value ought to be ſet on a wiſe Man for them; except it be, that Women generally liking without Judgment, it was a Conqueſt for a Philoſopher once in an Age, to get the better of a Fool. However, methinks there is ſomething of aukward in the adventure: I cannot imagine, without laughter, a *Pedant* and a *Stoick* making love in a long Gown; for it puts me in mind of the civilities which are us'd by the Cardinals and Judges in the dance of the Rehearſal: If *Agrippina* wou'd needs be ſo laviſh of her favours, ſince a Sot grew nauſeous to her, becauſe he was her Husband, and nothing under a Wit could atone for *Claudius*, I am half ſorry that *Petronius* was not the Man: We cou'd have born it better from his Character, than from one who profeſs'd the ſeverity of Virtue, to make a Cuckold of his Emperor and Benefactor. But let the Hiſtorian anſwer for his own Relation: Only, if true, 'tis ſo much the worſe, that *Seneca*, after having abus'd his Bed, cou'd not let him ſleep quiet in his Grave. The *Apocolocynthiſis*, or mock deification of *Claudius*, was too ſharp and inſulting on his Memory: And *Seneca*, though he could preach forgiveneſs to others, did not practiſe it himſelf in that Satire: Where was the patience and inſenſibility of a *Stoick*, in revenging his Baniſhment with a Libel? Where was the Morality of a Philoſopher, in defaming and expoſing of an harmleſs Fool? And where was common Humanity, in railing againſt the dead? But the talent of his malice is viſible in other places: He cenſures *Mecenas*, and I believe juſtly, for the looſeneſs of his manners, the voluptuouſneſs of his Life, and the effeminacy of his ſtyle; but it appears, that he takes pleaſure in ſo doing, and that he never forc'd his nature, when he ſpoke ill of any Man. For his own Style, we ſee what it is; and if we may be as bold with him, as he has been with our old Patron, we may call it a ſhatter'd Eloquence, not vigorous, not united, not embody'd, but broken into fragments; every part by itſelf pom-

pous, but the whole confus'd and unharmonious. His Latin, as Monſieur *St. Evremont* has well obſery'd, has nothing in it of the Purity and Elegance of *Auguſtus's* times: and 'tis of him and of his Imitators, that *Petronius* ſaid; *Pace veſtrâ liceat dixiſſe, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidiſtis.* The *Controverſiæ ſententiis vibrantibus pictæ*, and the *vanus Sententiarum ſtrepitus*, make it evident, that *Seneca* was tax'd under the perſon of the old Rhetorician. What quarrel he had to the Uncle and the Nephew, I mean *Seneca* and *Lucan*, is not known: but *Petronius* plainly points them out; one for a bad Orator, the other for as bad a Poet: His own Eſſay of the Civil War is an open defiance of the *Pharſalia*; and the firſt Oration of *Eumolpus*, as full an Arraignment of *Seneca's* falſe Eloquence. After all that has been ſaid, he is certainly to be allowed a great Wit, but not a good Philoſopher: Not fit to be compar'd with *Cicero*, of whoſe reputation he was emulous, any more than *Lucan* is with *Virgil*. To ſum up all in few words, conſider a Philoſopher declaiming againſt Riches, yet vaſtly rich himſelf; againſt Avarice, yet putting out his Money at great Extortion here in *Britain*; againſt Honours, yet aiming to be Emperor; againſt Pleaſure, yet enjoying *Agrippina*, and in his old Age married to a beautiful young Woman: And after this, let him be made a *Parallel* to *Plutarch*.

And now, with the uſual vanity of *Dutch* Prefacers, I could load our Author with the Praiſes and Commemorations of Writers: For both Ancient and Modern have made honourable mention of him. But to cumber pages with this kind of ſtuff, were to raiſe a diſtruſt in common Readers that *Plutarch* wants them. *Rualdus* indeed has collected ample Teſtimonies of them; but I will only recite the names of ſome, and refer you to him for the particular quotations. He reckons *Gellius*, *Euſebius*, *Himerius* the Sophiſter, *Eunapius*, *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria*, *Theodoret*, *Agathias*, *Photbius* and *Xiphilin* Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Johannes Sarisberienſis*,

riensis, the famous *Petrarch*, *Petrus Victorius*, and *Justus Lipsius*.

But *Theodorus Gaza*, a Man learned in the *Latin* Tongue, and a great restorer of the *Greek*, who liv'd above two hundred years ago, deserves to have his Suffrage set down in words at length: For the rest have only commended *Plutarch* more than any single Author, but he has extoll'd him above all together.

'Tis said, that having this extravagant question put to him by a Friend, that if Learning must suffer a general Shipwreck, and he had only his choice left him of preserving one Author, who should be the Man he would preserve: he answer'd, *Plutarch*; and probably might give this reason, that in saving him, he should secure the best Collection of them all.

The Epigram of *Agathias* deserves also to be remember'd: This Author flourish'd about the year five hundred, in the Reign of the Emperor *Justinian*: The Verses are extant in the *Anthologia*, and with the Translation of them, I will conclude the praises of our Author; having first admonish'd you, that they are suppos'd to be written on a Statue erected by the *Romans* to his Memory.

Σεῖω πολυκλήεντα τύπον ϛήσαντο Χερωνεῦ
Πλούταρχε κρατερῶν υἱέες Ἀυσονίων·
Ὅττι παραλλήλοισι βίοις Ἑλλῆνας ἀρίϛους
Ῥώμης ἐνπολέμοις ἥρμοσας ἐνναέταις·
Ἀλλὰ τεοῦ βίοτοιο παράλληλον βίον ἄλλον
Οὐδὲ σὺ γ' ἂν γράψαις, οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον ἔχεις.

Cheronean Plutarch,, *to thy deathless Praise*
Does Martial Rome *this grateful Statue raise:*
Because both Greece *and she thy Fame have shar'd;*
(Their Heroes written, and their Lives compar'd:)
But thou thyself cou'dst never write thy own:
Their Lives have Parallels, but thine has none.

THE LIFE OF THESEUS.

MY dear Friend *Sossius Senecion*, as Historians, in their Geographical descriptions of Countries, croud into the farthest parts of their Maps those places that escape their knowledge, with some such Remarks in the Margin as these; *All beyond is nothing but dry and desart Sands, inhabited only by wild Creatures; or dark unpassable Bogs, or* Scythian *Cold, or frozen Sea:* So in this Work of mine, wherein I have compar'd the Lives of the greatest Men with one another, having run thro' that time whereunto probable Reason cou'd reach, and thro' which the truth of History could pass; I may very well say of those that are farther off, *All beyond is nothing but monstrous and tragical Fictions.* There the Poets, and there the Inventors of Fables dwell; nor is there any Thing further to be expected worthy of Credit, or that carries any appearance of Certainty. Yet having published an Account of *Lycurgus* the Lawgiver, and

and *Numa* the King, methought I might with good reason ascend as high as *Romulus*, being brought by my History so near to his time. Considering therefore with myself

Whom with so great a Man shall I compare?
Or whom oppose? Who can the trial bear?

(as *Æschylus* expresses it) I found none so fit as Him that peopled the famous and most celebrated City of *Athens*, to be set in opposition with the Father of the invincible and renown'd City of *Rome*. And here it were to be wish'd, that we could so purge the fabulous part that it might obey the Laws of Reason, and receive the character of History. But wherever it shall chance too boldly to contemn the bounds of credibility, and will endure no mixture of what is probable, we shall beg that we may meet with candid Readers, and such as will favourably receive what can be related concerning things of so great Antiquity.

(1) Now *Theseus* seems to resemble *Romulus* in many particulars. Both of 'em were born out of Wedlock, and of uncertain Parentage, Both had the repute of being sprung from the Gods.

(1) *The comparison between* Theseus *and* Romulus.

Both Warriors; that by all the World's allow'd. Homer.

Both of them had join'd with strength of Body an equal vigour of Mind; and of the two most famous Cities of the World, the One built *Rome*, and the Other made *Athens* be inhabited. Both were famous for the Rape of Women; Neither of them cou'd avoid domestick misfortunes, nor the indignation of their own Relations: nay further, Both are said to have died by the hands of their own offended Citizens, if we may believe those relations that are deliver'd with the least appearance of strange or poetical Fiction.

(2) *The Family of* Theſeus.

(3) Αὐτόχθονες.

(2) The Lineage of *Theſeus* by his Father's ſide aſcends as high as to *Erectheus*, and the (3) firſt Inhabitants of *Attica*. By his Mother's ſide he was deſcended from *Pelops*: For *Pelops* was the moſt powerful of all the Kings in *Peloponneſus*, not ſo much for the greatneſs of his Riches, as the multitude of his Children; having match'd many Daughters to Perſons of the greateſt Quality, and made all his Sons Governors of the moſt conſiderable Provinces round about him. One whereof, named *Pittheus*, Grandfather to *Theſeus*, was Founder of the ſmall City of the *Træzenians*, and had the repute of a Man of the greateſt knowledge and wiſdom in his time: Which then it ſeems conſiſted chiefly in ſuch grave Sentences as the Poet *Heſiod* got his great eſteem by, in his Book of *Works and Days*. And even among them is one that they aſcribe to *Pittheus*,

Μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ εἰρημένος ἄρκιος ἴσω.

Let a Friend's ſervices meet full reward.

Which alſo *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher witneſſes: And *Euripides*, when he calls *Hippolytus*

A Scholar by the reverend Pittheus *taught*,

ſhews the opinion that the World had of that great Man. 'Tis ſaid that *Ægeus*, being deſirous of Children, and conſulting the Oracle at *Delphi*, receiv'd that ſo celebrated anſwer which forbad him the uſe of any Woman before his return to *Athens*: But the Oracle being ſo obſcurely worded as not to ſatisfy him that this was the meaning, he went to *Træzene*, and communicated to *Pittheus* the Anſwer of the God, which was in this manner:

Ἄσκει τ' πρέχοντα πόδα, μέγα φέρτατε λαῶν
Μὴ λύσῃς πρὶν δῆμον Ἀθηνάων εἰσαφικέσθαι.

I warn thee, Warrior, not to broach
Thy Goatskin full of generous Juice,
Till thou to Athens *ſhalt approach.*

What the deſign of *Pittheus* was in it, is uncertain, however he prevail'd upon him, either by perſuaſion or deceit, to lie with his daughter *Æthra*. *Ægeus* afterwards knowing her whom he had lain with to be *Pittheus*'s Daughter, and gueſſing her to be with Child by him, he left a Sword and a pair of Shoes, hiding them under a great Stone that had a hollowneſs exactly fitting them, making Her only privy to it, and commanding her, that if ſhe had a Son by him, who when he came to Man's eſtate ſhou'd be able to lift up the Stone, and take away what he had left there, ſhe ſhou'd ſend him away to him with thoſe things with all ſecrecy, enjoining him as much as poſſible to conceal his Journey from all Men: For he fear'd extremely the *Pallantidæ* who were continually laying plots againſt him, and deſpis'd him for his want of Children, they themſelves being fifty Brothers all of the Sons of *Pallas*.

When *Æthra* was deliver'd of a Son, ſome report that he was at that Inſtant named *Theſeus*, from the Tokens which his Father had put under the Stone: But others ſay, that he receiv'd his name afterwards at *Athens*, when *Ægeus* acknowledg'd him for his Son. He was brought up under his Grandfather *Pittheus*, and had by him a Governor and Tutor ſet over him, nam'd *Connidas*, to whom the *Athenians* even to this time, the day before the Feaſt that is dedicated to *Theſeus*, ſacrifice a Ram; giving this honour to his memory upon a much juſter account than That which they gave to *Silanio* and *Pharrhaſius*, for having only made Pictures and Statues of *Theſeus*. There being then a Cuſtom for the *Greeian* Youth, upon their firſt coming to Man's Eſtate, to go to *Delphi*, and offer the Firſt-fruits of their Hair to the God of the place; *Theſeus* alſo went thither, and they ſay that the place to this day is yet nam'd *Theſea* from him. But he ſhav'd only the

the forepart of his Head, as *Homer* reports to be the Cuſtom of the *Abantes*. And this ſort of Tonſure was from him nam'd *Theſeis*. But the *Abantes* firſt us'd this ſort of ſhaving, not having learnt it from the *Arabians*, as ſome imagine, nor in imitation of the *Myſians*; but, being a Warlike People, and us'd to cloſe fighting, and above all other Nations taught chiefly to engage hand to hand: as *Archilochus* witneſſes in theſe Verſes,

Οὗτοί πολλ' ἐπὶ τόξα πεπύσεται, ἔπι θαμειὰ
Σφενδόναι, εὖ τ' ἂν δὴ μᾶλον Ἄρης συνάγη
Ἐν πεδίῳ· ξιφέων ὃ πολύστονον ἔστεται ἔργον
Ταύτης γὰρ κεῖνοι δαήμονες εἰσὶ μάχης
Δεσπόται Εὐβοίης δαϊκλυτοί.

Slings they deſpiſe, and ſcorn to ſend from far
The flying Dart, and wage a diſtant War;
But hand to hand the truſty Swords they wield
Do all the dreadful buſineſs of the Field:
This is the way of fight th' Euboeans know,
Nor Bow nor Sling they truſt, but ſtrike themſelves the blow.

Therefore that they might not give their Enemies that advantage of ſeizing them by the Hair, they were ſhav'd in this manner. They write alſo, that This was the reaſon why *Alexander* gave command to his Captains, that all the Beards of his *Macedonians* ſhou'd be ſhav'd, as being the readieſt hold for an Enemy.

Æthra for ſome time conceal'd the true Parentage of *Theſeus*; and there was a report given out by *Pittheus*, that he was begotten by *Neptune*: For the *Trœzenians* have *Neptune* in the higheſt veneration. He is their Tutelar God, to Him they offer all their Firſt-fruits, and in His Honour ſtamp their Money with a Trident.

Theſeus in his youth diſcovering not only a great ſtrength of Body, but an equal force of Mind and firmneſs of Underſtanding, his Mother *Æthra*, conducting him to the Stone, and informing him Who was his tru

true Father, commanded him to take from thence the Tokens that *Ægeus* had left, and to ſail to *Athens*. So he raiſed the Stone and turned it up without any difficulty; but refuſed to take his Journey by Sea, tho' it was much the ſafer way, and tho' he was continually preſt to it by the intreaties of his Grandfather and Mother; becauſe it was at that time very dangerous to go by Land to *Athens*, no place of the Country being free from Thieves and Rogues. For that Age (it ſeems) produc'd a ſort of Men, for ſtrength of Arms, and ſwiftneſs of Feet, and vigour of Body, excelling the ordinary rate of Men, and in labours and exerciſe Indefatigable; yet making uſe of theſe Gifts of Nature in nothing either Good or Profitable to Mankind, but rejoicing and taking pride in inſolence, and pleaſing themſelves in the enjoyment of their inhumanity and cruelty, and in ſeizing, forcing and committing all manner of outrages upon every thing that fell into their hands: They thought civility, and juſtice, and equity, and humanity, (which many prais'd, either out of want of courage to commit injuries, or fear to receive them) nothing at all to concern Thoſe who were the moſt daring and moſt ſtrong. Some of Theſe *Hercules* deſtroy'd and cut off in his paſſing through theſe Countries; but Some who eſcap'd him, for fear fled and hid themſelves, or were ſpar'd by him in contempt of their abject ſubmiſſion.

But after That *Hercules* fell into misfortune, and having ſlain *Iphitus*, retir'd to *Lydia*, and for a long time was there Slave to *Omphale*, a puniſhment which he had impos'd upon himſelf for the Murder according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times; then indeed the *Lydian* Affairs enjoyed all Peace and Security: but in *Greece*, and the Countries about it, the like Villanies were again reviv'd and broke out, there being none to repreſs or chaſtiſe their Inſolence. It was therefore a very hazardous Journey to travel by Land to *Athens* from *Peloponneſus*: and *Pittheus*, giving him an exact account of each of theſe Thieves and Villains, of what

ſtrength

ſtrength they were, and with what cruelty they us'd all ſtrangers, perſuaded *Theſeus* to go by Sea. But he, it ſeems, had long ſince been ſecretly fir'd with the glory of *Hercules*, and had him in the higheſt eſtimation, and was never more ſatisfy'd than in hearing Thoſe that gave an account of him; eſpecially thoſe that had ſeen him, or had been preſent at any Action or Saying of His that was remarkable: Inſomuch that he was altogether in the ſame condition that *Themiſtocles* was, many Ages after, when he ſaid that the Trophies of *Miltiades* would not ſuffer him to ſleep. Thus he having in ſuch admiration the virtue of *Hercules*; in the Night his Dreams were all of that Hero's Actions, and in the Day a continual Emulation ſtir'd him up to perform the like. Beſides, they were nearly related, being born of Couſin-Germans. For *Æthra* was the Daughter of *Pittheus*, and *Alcmena* of *Lyſidice*; now *Lyſidice* and *Pittheus* were Brother and Siſter by *Hippodamia* and *Pelops*. He thought it therefore a diſhonourable thing, and not to be endur'd, that *Hercules* ſhou'd every where purge both Land and Sea from thoſe wicked Men, and that He himſelf ſhou'd fly from the like Adventures, that ſo fairly offer'd themſelves to him; diſgracing his reputed Father by a mean flight by Sea, and not ſhewing his true one as manifeſt a Character of the greatneſs of his Birth by noble and worthy Actions, as by the tokens that he brought with him, the Shoes and the Sword.

With this mind and theſe thoughts he ſet forward, with a deſign to do injury to no body; but to repel and revenge himſelf of all Thoſe that ſhou'd offer any violence. And firſt of all, in a ſet Combat, he ſlew *Periphetes* in *Epidauria*, who us'd a Club for his Arms, and from thence had his name of *Corynetes*, or the *Club-bearer*, who ſeiz'd upon him, and forbad him to go forward in his Journey. Being pleas'd with the Club, he took it, and made it his Weapon; making the ſame uſe of it as *Hercules* had made of the Lion's Skin, which he wore as evidence of what a prodigious

ſize

ſize the Monſter was that he ſlew; and to the ſame end *Theſeus* carry'd about him this Club; overcome indeed by Him, but now, in his Hand, invincible.

Paſſing on further towards the Iſthmus of *Peloponneſus*, he ſlew *Sinnis*, who (from the way of murder he us'd) was ſirnam'd the (4) *Pine-bender*, after the ſame manner that he himſelf had deſtroy'd many others before. And This he did, not having either practis'd or ever learnt the art of bending theſe Trees, to ſhew that natural Strength is above all Art. This *Sinnis* had a Daughter of moſt excellent beauty and more than ordinary ſtature, call'd *Perigune*, who, when her Father was kill'd, fled, and was ſought after with all diligence by *Theſeus*; but She, flying into a place overgrown with many Shrubs and Ruſhes and wild Aſparagus, innocently made her complaint to them, as if they cou'd have a ſenſe of her misfortune, and begg'd them to ſhelter her, with vows that if ſhe eſcap'd ſhe wou'd never cut them down or burn them: but *Theſeus* calling upon her, and giving her his promiſe, that he wou'd uſe her with all reſpect, and offer her no injury, ſhe came forth; and being enjoy'd by *Theſeus*, bore a Son to him nam'd *Menalippus:* but afterwards ſhe was married to *Deioneus* the Son of *Eurytus*, the *Oechalian*, *Theſeus* himſelf giving her to him. And *Ioxus*, the Son of this *Menalippus*, who was born to *Theſeus*, accompany'd *Ornytus* in the Colony that he carried with him into *Caria*, from whom the People call'd *Ioxides* have their name; who have this cuſtom deriv'd down to them from their Fathers, never to burn either Ruſhes, or wild Aſparagus, but to honour and worſhip them.

(4) Πιτυοκάμπτης.

About this time there was a wild Sow at *Cromyon*, which they call'd *Phæa*, a Beaſt not to be overlook'd or deſpis'd, being of great fierceneſs and very hard to be overcome: This *Theſeus* kill'd, going out of his way to meet and engage her, that he might not ſeem to perform all his great Exploits out of mere neceſſity; being

being alſo of opinion, that as it was the part of a brave Man, in his own defence to engage with villanous and wicked Men, ſo to be the Aggreſſor in fighting and expoſing himſelf to ſuch wild Beaſts as were famous for Fierceneſs and Cruelty. Others relate that this *Phæa* was a Woman who made a trade of Robbing, remarkable for Cruelty and Luſt, that liv'd in *Cromyon*, and had the name of *Sow* given her from the beaſtlineſs of her Life and Converſation, and that afterwards ſhe was kill'd by *Theſeus*.

He ſlew alſo *Sciron*, upon the borders of *Megara*, caſting him down from the Rocks; being, as moſt report, a notorious Robber of all Paſſengers; and, as others ſay, accuſtom'd out of inſolence and wantonneſs to ſtretch forth his Feet to Strangers, commanding them to waſh 'em, and then with a kick to thruſt them down the Rock into the Sea. But the Writers of *Megara*, in contradiction to the receiv'd report, and, as *Simonides* expreſſes it, *Fighting with all Antiquity*, contend, that *Sciron* was neither a Robber nor Committer of Injuries and Affronts, but a Puniſher of all ſuch, and full of all Humanity and Friendſhip to good and juſt Men: For (ſay they) *Æacus* was ever eſteem'd a Man of the greateſt Sanctity of all the *Greeks*; and *Cychreus* the *Salaminian* was honour'd at *Athens* with Divine Worſhip; and the Virtue of *Peleus* and *Telamon* are not unknown to any one. Now *Sciron* was Son-in-law to *Cychreus*, and Father-in-law to *Æacus*, and Grandfather to *Peleus* and *Telamon*, who were both of 'em Sons of *Erideis* the Daughter of *Sciron*, and *Carichlo*: therefore it is not probable, that the Beſt ſhould make theſe Alliances with the Worſt of Men, giving and receiving mutually what was of greateſt value and moſt dear to 'em. Beſides, they relate that *Theſeus* did not ſlay *Sciron* in his firſt Journey to *Athens*, but afterwards, when he took *Eleuſis*, a City then in poſſeſſion of the *Megarians*, having circumvented *Diocles* the Governor. Theſe are the Contradictions which are found between the Writers of this Story.

In

In *Æleusis* he kill'd *Cercyon* the *Arcadian*, in a wreſtling Match. And going on a little further, in the City of *Hermione*, he ſlew *Damaſtes*, otherwiſe call'd *Procruſtes*, by force making him even to his own Beds, as he himſelf was us'd to do with all Strangers. Theſe acts he did in imitation of *Hercules*. For That Hero returned always upon the aggreſſors the ſame ſort of Violence which They had offer'd to Others: for inſtance, he ſacrific'd *Buſyris*, ſlew *Antæus* in wreſtling, worſted *Cycnus* at ſingle Combat, and kill'd *Termerus* by breaking his Skull in pieces, (from whence they ſay comes the Proverb of *A Termerian Miſchief*) for it ſeems *Termerus* kill'd all the Paſſengers that he met, by running, with all his force, His Head againſt Theirs. Thus proceeded *Theſeus* in the Puniſhment of evil Men, who underwent the ſame Torments from Him, which They had inflicted upon Others; juſtly ſuffering after the manner of their own Injuſtice.

As he went forward on his Journey, and was come as far as the River *Cephiſus*, ſome of the Race of the *Phytalidæ* met him and ſaluted him: and upon his deſire to uſe the Purifications then in Cuſtom, they perform'd them with all the uſual Ceremonies; and having offer'd propitiatory Sacrifices to the Gods, they invited him and entertain'd him at their Houſe, who before in all his Journey had not met any thing like Civility.

'Tis reported that on the eighth day of the Month *Cronius* (now call'd (5) *Hecatombæon*) he arriv'd at *Athens*, where he found the publick Affairs full of Confuſion, and divided into Parties and Factions; *Ægeus* alſo and his own private Family labouring under the ſame Diſtemper: for *Medea*, having fled from *Corinth*, and promis'd *Ægeus* to make him, by her Art, capable of having Children, was entertain'd by him, and admitted to his Bed; She had the firſt knowledge of *Theſeus*, whom as yet *Ægeus* did not know; and He being in Years, full of Jealouſies and Suſpicions, and

(5) *This anſwers in ſome meaſure to our* June.

fearing every thing by reaſon of the Faction that was then in the City, ſhe eaſily perſuaded him to poiſon *Theſeus* at a Banquet to be prepar'd for him as a Civility to a Stranger. *Theſeus* coming to the Entertainment, thought it not fit to diſcover himſelf firſt; but being willing to give his Father the occaſion of firſt finding him out, the Meat being on the Table, he drew his Sword as if he deſign'd to carve with it, and ſo ſhew'd it him. *Ægeus* upon the ſudden, perceiving the Token, threw down the Cup of Poiſon, and diſcovering his Son, embrac'd him; and having gather'd together all his Citizens, he own'd him publickly before them, who receiv'd him with great Satisfaction for the Fame of his Greatneſs and Bravery: 'Tis alſo ſaid, that when the Cup fell, the Poiſon was ſpilt there where now is the Incloſure in the Temple call'd *Delphinion*; for in that place ſtood *Ægeus*'s Houſe, and the Statue of *Mercury* on the Eaſt-ſide of the Temple is call'd the *Mercury* of *Ægeus*'s Gate.

Now the Sons of *Pallas*, who before were in hopes and expectations of recovering the Kingdom, at leaſt after *Ægeus*'s Death without Iſſue, as ſoon as *Theſeus* appear'd, and was acknowledg'd the Succeſſor to the Crown, highly reſenting, that *Ægeus* an adopted Son only of *Pandion*, and not at all related to the Family of *Erectheus*, ſhou'd firſt obtain the Kingdom, and that again after him, *Theſeus* a new-comer and a ſtranger ſhould do the like, broke out into an open War: And dividing themſelves into two Companies, one part of them march'd openly from *Sphettus* with their Father againſt the City; the other, hiding themſelves in the Ward of *Gargettus*, lay in Ambuſh with a deſign to ſet upon the Enemy on both ſides. (6) They had with them a Crier of the Ward of *Agnus*, nam'd *Leos*, who diſcover'd to *Theſeus* all the deſigns of the *Pallantidæ*: He immediately fell upon Them that lay in Ambuſcade, and cut them all off; which *Pallas* and his Company hearing, fled and were diſperſed.

(6) Pallene *and* Agnus, *the Names of two Wards or Δῆμοι in* Athens.

From

From hence they ſay is deriv'd the Cuſtom for the Ward of the *Pallenæans* to have no Marriages, or any Alliance, with the People in the Ward of *Agnus*, nor to ſuffer their Criers to pronounce in their Proclamations theſe words, ſolemnly us'd in all other parts of the Country, Ἀκούετε Λεῶς (Hear ye (7) People!) ſo great is their hatred to the very name of *Leos* for the foulneſs of his Treaſon.

(7) Λεὼς Leos, *is the* Attick *word for* People.

Now *Theſeus*, longing to be in Action, and withal deſirous to make himſelf popular, left *Athens* to fight with the Bull of *Marathon*; which did no ſmall miſchief to the Inhabitants of *Tetrapolis*. And having overcome it, he brought it alive in Triumph thro' the City, and afterwards ſacrific'd it to *Apollo Delphinius*. As to what concerns *Hecale*, and the Story of her receiving and entertaining *Theſeus* in this Expedition, it ſeems to be not altogether void of Truth; for from hence the People round about, meeting upon a certain Day, offer'd a Sacrifice, which they call'd *Hecaleſium*, to *Jupiter Hecalion*, in honour of *Hecale*, whom by a pleaſing diminutive they call'd *Hecalene*, becauſe when ſhe entertain'd *Theſeus* while he was but a Youth, ſhe, as the Cuſtom of old People is, call'd and careſs'd him by ſuch diminutive names: and having made a Vow to *Jupiter* for him as he was going to the Fight, that if he return'd in Safety, ſhe would offer Sacrifices in Thanks for it, and dying before he came back, ſhe receiv'd the forementiond return of her Hoſpitality by the command of *Theſeus*, as *Philochorus* relates the Story.

Not long after arriv'd the third time from *Crete* the Collectors of the Tribute, which the *Athenians* paid them upon the following occaſion. *Androgeus* having been thought to be treacherouſly murder'd about the Confines of *Attica*, not only *Minos* put the *Athenians* to extreme inconveniences by a perpetual War, but the Gods alſo laid waſte their Country; for both Famine and Peſtilence lay heavy upon 'em, and even their Rivers were dry'd up. But being told by the Oracle, that

if they appeas'd and reconcil'd *Minos*, the Anger of the Gods would ceaſe, and they ſhould enjoy Reſt from the Miſeries they labour'd under; they ſent Ambaſſadors, and with much Supplication were at laſt reconcil'd; having enter'd into an Agreement to ſend to *Crete* every ninth Year a Tribute of ſeven young Men, and as many Virgins, as the Writers generally agree.

Now the moſt tragical Story that goes about concerning this matter, ſays, that the *Minotaure* deſtroy'd them in the *Labyrinth*, or that they wander'd about in it, and finding no poſſible means of getting out, miſerably ended their Lives there; and that this *Minotaure* was (as *Euripides* has it)

A mingled Form, where two ſtrange Shapes combin'd;
And different Natures, Bull and Man, were join'd.

But *Philochorus* writes, that the *Cretans* will by no means allow the truth of This, but ſay, that the Labyrinth was only an ordinary Priſon, having no other Ill in it, than that it ſecur'd the Priſoners from eſcaping; and that *Minos*, having inſtituted Games in Honour of *Androgeus*, gave as a Reward to the Victors thoſe Youths that till that time had been Priſoners in the Labyrinth: and that the firſt that overcame in thoſe Games, was one of the greateſt Power and Command among 'em, nam'd *Taurus*, a Man of no merciful or ſweet Diſpoſition, but that carry'd himſelf towards thoſe *Athenian* Children, that were made his Prize, in a moſt proud and inſolent manner. And even *Ariſtotle* himſelf, in the Account that he gives of the Government of the *Bottieans*, is manifeſtly of Opinion, that theſe Youths were not ſlain by *Minos*, but that they ſpent the remainder of their days in Slavery at *Crete*; and that the *Cretans*, to acquit themſelves of an ancient Vow which they had made, were us'd to ſend an Offering of the Firſt-fruits of their Men to *Delphi*, and that ſome Deſcendants of theſe *Athenian* Slaves were mingled with 'em and ſent amongſt 'em; and that not being able to get their Living there, they remov'd from thence,

thence, first into *Italy*, and inhabited the Country about *Apulia*; from thence again, that they remov'd to *Thrace*, and were nam'd *Bottieans*; and that This is the reason why in a certain Sacrifice, the *Bottiean* Girls sing a Hymn, beginning thus, *To* Athens *let us go*. And from This it appears how dangerous it is to incur the Hatred of a City that is Mistress of Eloquence and the Seat of the Muses. For *Minos* was always ill spoken of, and represented ever as a very ill Man upon the *Athenian* Stages; neither did *Hesiod* at all help him when he calls him *The most Royal Minos*, nor *Homer* when he stiles him *The Companion of Jupiter*. But the *Tragedians* prevailing, spread a very ill Character of him from the Stage, as of a cruel and inhuman Prince; though it be said that really *Minos* was a very good King and Lawgiver, and that *Rhadamanthus* was a Judge under him, inforcing an Observance of the Statutes that He ordain'd.

Now when the time of the third Tribute was come, and that the Fathers who had any young Men for their Sons, were obliged to produce them in order to take their Chance by Lot; there arose fresh discontents and accusations against *Ægeus* among the People, who were full of grief and indignation, that He, who was the cause of all their miseries, was the only Person exempt from the Punishment; but settling his Kingdom upon a Bastard and a Foreign Son, took no notice of Them whom he left destitute and without Children. These things very sensibly affected *Theseus*, who thinking it but just not to avoid, but rather partake of the sufferings of his Fellow-Citizens, offer'd himself for One without any Lot. All the rest admired him for the greatness of his Spirit, and were greatly taken with him for his care of the Publick: and *Ægeus*, after all his Prayer and Intreaty, finding him inflexible and not to be persuaded, proceeded to the choosing of the rest by Lot. But *Hellanicus* writes, that the *Athenians* did not send the young Men and Virgins as they were chosen by Lot, but that *Minos* himself coming thither made his own choice, and

that he pitch'd upon *Theſeus* before all others, upon conditions agreed to between 'em, that the *Athenians* ſhould furniſh 'em with a Ship, and that the young Men who were to ſail with him ſhould carry no Weapon of War; but that if the *Minotaure* was deſtroy'd, this Tribute ſhou'd ceaſe.

There appearing no hopes of Safety or Return, at the two former Payments of this Tribute, They ſent forth the Ship with a black Sail, as to unavoidable deſtruction: but now *Theſeus* encouraging his Father, and ſpeaking greatly of himſelf, as confident that he ſhould kill the *Minotaure*, *Ægeus* gave the Pilot another Sail which was White, commanding him as he return'd, if *Theſeus* eſcap'd, to make uſe of That; but if not, to ſail with the Black one, and give it as a ſign of his Misfortune and Sorrow. But *Simonides* ſays, that the Sail which *Ægeus* deliver'd to the Pilot, was not White, but Purple dy'd in Grain, with the Flower of a certain Tree, and that This was to be a ſign of their Eſcape. *Amarſyadas Phereclus*, as *Simonides* writes, was Pilot of the Ship. But *Philochorus* ſays, that *Theſeus* had a Pilot ſent him by *Scirus*, from *Salamis*, nam'd *Nauſitheus*, and another Sailor (8) to manage the Head, nam'd *Phæax*; becauſe as yet the *Athenians* had not applied themſelves to Navigation; and that *Scirus* did This, becauſe one of the young Men, *Meneſthes*, was his Daughter's Son; and This the Monuments of *Nauſitheus* and *Phæax*, built by *Theſeus* in *Phalerum*, near the Temple of *Sciron*, witneſs. He adds alſo, that the Feaſt nam'd *Cybernefia* (or Feaſt of *Pilots*) was inſtituted in their Honour. The Lot being caſt, and *Theſeus* taking with him out of the *Prytanæum* Thoſe upon whom it fell, went to the *Delphinian* Temple, and made an Offering to *Apollo* for their ſafe return, which was a Bough of a conſecrated Olive-Tree bound about with white Wool.

(8) κυβερνήτης πρωρεύς.

Having thus perform'd his Devotion, he went to Sea, the ſixth day of the Month *Munichion* (i. e. *March*;) on

on which Day, even till this time, the *Athenians* ſend their Virgins to the ſame Temple to make Supplication to the Gods. It is farther reported that he was commanded by the Oracle at *Delphi* to make *Venus* his Guide, and to invoke Her as the Companion and Conductreſs of his Voyage, to whom as he was ſacrificing a She-Goat by the Sea-ſide, it was ſuddenly chang'd into an He-Goat, and for this Cauſe that Goddeſs had the Name of (9) *Epitragia*.

(9) Τραγος, *ſignifying a Goat.*

When he arriv'd at *Crete*, as moſt of the ancient Hiſtorians as well as Poets write, having a Clew of Thread given him by *Ariadne*, who had fall'n in love with him, and being inſtructed by her in the uſe of it, which was to conduct him through all the Windings of the Labyrinth, he eſcap'd out of it, and ſlew the *Minotaure* and ſail'd back, taking along with him *Ariadne*, and the young *Athenian* Captives. *Pherecydes* adds, that he bor'd Holes in the Keels of the *Cretan* Ships, to hinder their purſuit. And *Demon* writes, that *Taurus* the Chief Captain of *Minos* was ſlain in a Naval Combat by *Theſeus* in the Mouth of the Haven, immediately before he ſet ſail for *Athens*. But *Philochorus* gives us the Story thus, That at the exhibiting the Games, which *Minos* had caus'd to be annually celebrated in honour of his Son, *Taurus*, who they thought would certainly bear away the Prize from All, as he had done before, labour'd under the Envy of all *Crete*. For his Power grew grievous and inſupportable by reaſon of the Inſolence of his Manners; and beſides, he had been accus'd of too near a Familiarity with *Paſiphae* the Queen: which was the reaſon that when *Theſeus* deſir'd the Combat, *Minos* ſo eaſily comply'd. And as it was a Cuſtom in *Crete* that the Ladies alſo ſhould be admitted to the ſight of theſe Games, *Ariadne*, being preſent, was ſtrangely ſurpris'd at the manly Beauty of *Theſeus*, and ſtruck with admiration at the vigour and addreſs which he ſhew'd in the Combat, overcoming all that encountred with him. *Minos* too being extremely pleas'd, eſpecially ſince *Taurus* was vanquiſh'd and

and disgraced, voluntarily gave up the young Captives to *Theseus*, and remitted the Tribute to the *Athenians*. But *Clidemus* gives an account of these things peculiar to himself, very prolix, and beginning a great way off: That it was a Decree consented to by all *Greece*, that no Vessel from any place, containing above five Persons, should be permitted to sail, *Jason* only excepted, who was made Captain of the great Ship *Argo*, to sail about and scour the Sea of Pirates. But *Dædalus*, having escap'd from *Crete*, and flying by Sea to *Athens*, and *Minos*, contrary to this Decree, pursuing him with his great Ships, was forc'd by a Storm upon *Sicily*, and there ended his Life. After his decease, *Deucalion* his Son, desiring a quarrel with the *Athenians*, sent to them, commanding that they should deliver up *Dædalus* to him; threatning, upon their refusal, to put to Death all the young *Athenians* whom his Father *Minos* had received as Hostages from the City. To this angry Message *Theseus* return'd a very gentle and mild Answer, excusing himself, that he could not deliver up *Dædalus*, who was so nearly related to him, being his Cousin-German; for his Mother was *Merope*, the Daughter of *Erectheus*. In the mean while he was very busy in preparing a Navy, part of it at home near the Village of the *Thymœtadæ*, being a place of no resort, and far from any common Roads; the other part under his Grandfather *Pittheus*'s Direction at *Trœzene*, that so his Design might be carried on with the greatest Secrecy. Assoon as ever his Fleet was in readiness he set Sail, taking with him *Dædalus* and the other Fugitives from *Crete* for his Guides; and none of the *Cretans* having any knowledge of his coming, but imagining, when they saw his Fleet, that they were Friends, and Vessels of their own, he soon made himself Master of the Haven; and immediately making a descent farther into the Island, he arriv'd at *Gnossus* (the City of the King's Residence) before any notice of his coming could be receiv'd; and joining Battle before the Gates of the *Labyrinth* he put *Deucalion* and all his Guards to the Sword.

Sword. The Government by this means falling to *Ariadne*, he made a League with her, and receiv'd the Captives of her, and ratify'd a perpetual Friendſhip between the *Athenians* and the *Cretans*, whom he engag'd under an Oath never again to make War with *Athens*.

There are yet many other Reports about theſe things, and as many concerning *Ariadne*, but none with any Certainty of Truth. For ſome relate, that ſhe hang'd herſelf, being deſerted by *Theſeus*. Others, that ſhe was carried away by his Sailors to the Iſle of *Naxos*, and marry'd to *Onarus*, one of the Prieſts of *Bacchus*; and that *Theſeus* left her, becauſe he fell in love with Another:

Δεινὸς γὰρ μιν ἔτειρεν ἔρως Πανοπηΐδος Αἴγλης.

For Ægle's Love had pierc'd his manly Breaſt.

For this Verſe, as *Hereas* the *Megarian* witneſſeth, was formerly in the Poet *Heſiod*'s Works, but put out by *Piſiſtratus*, in like manner as he added This other in *Homer's Deſcription of the State of the Dead*, to gratify the *Athenians*,

Θησέα, Πειρίθοόν τε Θεῶν ἀριδείκετα τέκνα.

Theſeus, Perithous, *both Sons of Gods.*

Others report, that *Ariadne* had two Sons by *Theſeus*, *Oenopion* and *Staphylus*; and among Theſe is the Poet *Ion*, of *Chios*, who writes thus of his own native City,

Τὴν ποτε Θησείδης ἔκτισεν Ὀινοπίων.

Built by Oenopion *the great* Theſeus' *Son.*

And yet whatever in this Account has the more general Warrant of Hiſtory, and whatever the Poets have, as it were, put into every body's Mouth, is diverſified by

Pæan

Pæan the *Amathuſian*, who has ſet forth a different Relation of it, which has ſomething very peculiar in it. For he writes, that *Theſeus* being driven by a Storm upon the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and having aboard with him *Ariadne*, big with Child, and extremely diſcompos'd with the rolling of the Sea, ſet her on Shore, and left her there alone in that weak Condition, to return to and help the Ship; where, on a ſudden, by a violent Wind, he was again forc'd out to Sea. That the Women of the Iſland receiv'd *Ariadne* very kindly, and adminiſter'd all manner of Comfort to her, when ſhe was extremely afflicted and almoſt dead with Grief for being left behind. That they counterfeited kind Letters, and deliver'd them to her, as ſent from *Theſeus*; and, when ſhe fell in Labour, were very diligent in performing to her all the Offices that belong to Women: But that ſhe dy'd in Child-bed before ſhe could be deliver'd, and was by them honourably interr'd. That ſoon after *Theſeus* return'd, and was greatly afflicted for her loſs, and at his departure left a conſiderable Sum of Money among thoſe of the Iſland, ordering them to ſacrifice and pay Divine Honour to *Ariadne*; and caus'd two little Statues to be made and dedicated to her, one of Silver and the other of Braſs. Moreover, that on the ſecond day of the Month *Gorpiæus*, (i. e. *September*) they have This among other Ceremonies, A Youth lies in Bed, and with his voice and geſture counterfeits all the pains of a Woman in Travail; and that the *Amathuſians* call the Grove in which they ſhew her Tomb, the Grove of *Venus Ariadne*.

Different yet from this Account ſome of the *Naxians* write, that there were two *Minos's* and two *Ariadne's*; one of whom, they ſay, was married to *Bacchus* in the Iſle of *Naxos*, and bore a Son nam'd *Staphylus*. But that the other, of a later Age, was raviſhed by *Theſeus*, and being afterwards deſerted by him, retir'd to *Naxos*, with her Nurſe *Corcyna*, whoſe Grave they yet ſhew. That this *Ariadne* alſo dy'd there, and was worſhip'd by the Iſlanders, but in a different manner from the former:

mer: for Her day is celebrated with Feasts and Revels, and an universal Joy; but all the Sacrifices perform'd to the latter, are mingled with Sorrow and Mourning.

Now *Theseus*, in his return from *Crete*, put in at *Delos*, and having sacrificed to the God of that Island, and dedicated to the Temple the Image of *Venus* which *Ariadne* had given him, he danc'd with the young *Athenians* a Dance, that, in memory of him, is still preserv'd among the Inhabitants of *Delos*, which in a certain order had turnings and returnings, that imitated the intricate windings of the Labyrinth. And this Dance, as *Dicæarchus* writes, is call'd among the *Delians* the *Crane*. This he danc'd round the *Ceratonian* Altar, so call'd from its being compacted together, and adorn'd only with Horns taken from the left side of the Head. They say also, that he instituted Games in *Delos*, where he was the First that began the Custom of giving a Palm to the Victors.

When they were come near the Coast of *Attica*, so great was the Joy for the happy success of their Voyage, that neither *Theseus* himself, nor the Pilot, remembred to hang out the Sail which should have been the token of their safety to *Ægeus*; who, knowing nothing of their Success, for grief threw himself headlong from a Rock, and perish'd in the Sea. But *Theseus* being arrived at the Port of *Phaleron*, paid there the Sacrifices which he had vow'd to the Gods at his setting out to Sea, and sent a Herald to the City to carry news of his safe return. At his entrance into the City the Herald found the People for the most part full of grief for the loss of their King; Others, as may be well believed, as full of joy for the Message that he brought, and wholly bent to make much of him, and crown him with Garlands for so acceptable News; which he indeed accepted of, but instead of wearing them on his Head he hung them upon his Herald's Staff: and thus returning to the Sea-side before *Theseus* had finish'd his Libation to the Gods, he stay'd without, for fear of disturbing the Holy

Holy Rites; but as ſoon as the Libation was ended, he entered, and related the whole Story of the King's Death: upon the hearing of which, with great Lamentations and a confuſed tumult of grief, they ran with all haſte to the City. And from hence they ſay it comes that to this day, in the *Oſchophoria*, or *Feaſt of Boughs*, the Herald is not crown'd, but his Staff, and that the People then preſent ſtill break out at the Sacrifice into this ſhout, ἐλελεῦ, ἰὴ, ἰὴ, *(eleleu, iou, iou)* of which confus'd ſounds the firſt was wont to be uſed by Men in haſte, or at a Triumph, the other is proper to thoſe that are in great Conſternation or Trouble.

Theſeus, after the Funeral of his Father, paid his Vows to *Apollo* the ſeventh day of *Pyanepſion*, (i. e. *October*;) for on that day the Youth that return'd with him ſafe from *Crete*, made their entry into the City. They ſay alſo, that the Cuſtom of boiling Pulſe at this Feaſt is deriv'd from hence, becauſe the young men that had eſcap'd, put all that was left of their Proviſion together, and boiling it in one common Pot feaſted themſelves with it, and with great rejoicing did eat all together. Hence alſo they carry in Proceſſion an Olive-branch bound about with Wool (ſuch as they then made uſe of in their Supplications) which they call *Eireſione*, crown'd with all ſorts of Fruits, to ſignify that Scarcity and Barrenneſs was ceas'd; ſinging in their Proceſſion this Song,

Εἰρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρειν καὶ πίονας ἄρτους
Καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ καὶ ἔλαιον ἀναψήσασαν
Καὶ κύλικ' εὔζωρον ὡς ἂν μεθύουσα καθεύδῃς.

Eireſione *Figs produce,*
And wholſom Bread and cheerful Oil,
And Honey, labouring Bees ſweet toil;
But above all Wine's noble juice:
Then Cares thou in the Cup ſhalt ſteep,
And full of joy receive ſoft Sleep.

Altho'

Altho' ſome are of opinion, that this Ceremony is retain'd in memory of the *Heraclidæ*, who were thus entertain'd by the *Athenians*. But moſt are of the opinion which we have above deliver'd. The Ship wherein *Theſeus* and the Youth of *Athens* ſet out and returned ſafe, had thirty Oars, and was preſerved by the *Athenians*, down even to the time of *Demetrius Phalareus*; for they took away the old Planks as they decay'd, putting in new and ſtronger Timber in their place, inſomuch that this Ship became a ſtanding Example among the Philoſophers, whenever they diſputed about things that increaſe, one ſide holding, That the Ship remain'd the Same, and the other as fiercely contending, That it was not the Same.

The Feaſt call'd *Oſcophoria*, or Feaſt of *Boughs*, which to this day the *Athenians* celebrate, was then firſt inſtituted by *Theſeus*. For he took not with him the full number of Virgins, which by Lot were to have been carried away, but ſelected two Youths, with whom he had an intimate familiarity, of fair and womaniſh Faces, but of a manly and forward Spirit; and having by frequent Baths, and by avoiding the heat and ſcorching of the Sun, with a conſtant uſe of all the Ointments, and Waſhes, and Dreſſes, that ſerve to the adorning of the Hair, or ſmoothing the Skin, or improving the Complexion, in a manner chang'd them from what they were before, and having taught them further to counterfeit the very Voice, and Carriage, and Gate of Virgins, ſo that there could not be the leaſt difference perceiv'd, he, undiſcover'd by any, put them among the *Athenian* Maids deſign'd for *Crete*. At his return he and theſe two Youths led up a ſolemn Proceſſion, dreſſed in the ſame habit that is now worn by thoſe that carry the Branches. Which Branches they carry in honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, for the ſake of their Story before related; or rather becauſe they happen'd to return in Autumn, the time of gathering ripe Fruits. The Women, whom they call *Deipnophoræ*, (or Supper-Carriers,) are taken into theſe

Ceremonies, and aſſiſt at the Sacrifice, in remembrance and imitation of the Mothers of the young Men and Virgins upon whom the Lot fell; for thus buſily did they run about, bringing Banquets and Refreſhments to their Children: and becauſe the good Women then told their Sons and Daughters a great many fine Tales and Stories, to comfort and encourage them under the danger they were going upon, it has ſtill continu'd a Cuſtom, that at this Feaſt old Fables and Tales ſhould be the chief Diſcourſe. And for all theſe Particularities we are beholden to the Hiſtory of *Demon*. There was a Place conſecrated, and a Temple erected on it to *Theſeus*; who obliged thoſe Families out of which the Tribute of the Youth (in caſe it had continued) was to have been paid, inſtead thereof to pay a Tax to the Temple for Sacrifices to him. And the Houſe of the *Phytalidæ* had the overſeeing of theſe Sacrifices, *Theſeus* doing them that Honour in recompence of their former Hoſpitality.

Now after the death of his Father *Ægeus*, framing in his mind a great and wonderful deſign, he gather'd together all the Inhabitants of *Attica* into one Town, and made them one People of one City, that were before diſpers'd, and very difficult to be aſſembled upon any Affair, tho' relating to the common benefit of them All. Nay, often ſuch Differences and Quarrels happened between them, as occaſion'd Bloodſhed and War: Theſe by his Perſuaſions he appeas'd, and going from People to People, and from Tribe to Tribe, propos'd his deſign of a common agreement between them. Thoſe of a more private and mean Condition readily embracing ſo good Advice, to Thoſe of greater Power and Intereſt he promis'd a Commonwealth, wherein Monarchy being laid aſide, the Power ſhould be in the People; and that, reſerving to himſelf only to be continu'd the Commander of their Arms, and the Preſerver of their Laws, there ſhould be an equal diſtribution of all things elſe between them: and by this means brought Them over to his Propoſal, The Reſt

fearing

fearing his Power, which was already grown very formidable, and knowing his Courage and Resolution, chose rather to be persuaded than forc'd into a Compliance. He then dissolv'd all the distinct Courts of Justice, and Council-halls, and Corporations, and built one common *Prytaneum* and Council-hall, where it stands to this day; and out of the old and the new City he made One, which he nam'd *Athens*, ordaining a common Feast and Sacrifice to be for ever observ'd, which he call'd *Panathenæa*, (or the Sacrifice of all the United *Athenians.)* He instituted also another Sacrifice call'd *Metœcæa* (1) which is still celebrated on the 16th day of *Hecatombæon* (i. e. *June.)* Then, as he had promis'd, he laid down his Regal Power, and settled a Commonwealth, entring upon this great Change, not without advice from the Gods. For having sent to consult the Oracle of *Delphi*, concerning the Fortune of his new Government and City, he receiv'd this Answer:

(1) Transmigration.

Αἰγείδη Θησεῦ, Πιτθηΐδος ἔκγονε κούρης,
Πολλαῖς τοι πολίεσσι πατὴρ ἔμος ἔγκατέθηκε,
Τέρματα καὶ κλωστῆρας ἐν ὑμετέρῳ πτολιέθρῳ.
Ἀλλὰ σὺ μήτι λίην πεπόνημένος ἔνδοθι θυμὸν
Βουλεύειν· Ἀσκὸς γὰρ ἐν οἰδματι ποντοπορεύσῃ.

Hear, Theseus, Pittheus' *Daughter's Son,*
Hear what Jove *for thee has done.*
In the great City, thou hast made,
He has, as in a Store-house, laid
The settled Periods and fixt Fates
Of many Cities, mighty States.
But know thou neither Fear nor Pain,
Solicit not thyself in vain.
For, like a Bladder that does 'bide
The fury of the angry Tide,
Thou from high Waves unhurt shalt bound,
Always tost but never drown'd.

Which Oracle, they ſay, one of the Sibyls long after did in a manner repeat to the *Athenians*, in this Verſe:

Ἀσκὸς βαπλίζῃ, δῦναι δ᾽ οὐ τοι ἐ θέμις ἐϛι.

The Bladder may be dipt, but never drown'd.

Farther yet deſigning to enlarge his City, he invited all Strangers to come and enjoy equal Privileges with the Natives; and Some are of Opinion, that the common form of Proclamation in *Athens*, *Come hither all ye People*, were the words that *Theſeus* cauſed to be proclaim'd, when he thus ſet up a Commonwealth, conſiſting, in a manner, of all Nations. Yet he ſuffer'd not his State, by the promiſcuous Multitude that flow'd in, to be turn'd into Confuſion, and be left without any Order or Degree; but was the Firſt that divided the Commonwealth into three diſtinct Ranks, the Noblemen, the Husbandmen, and Artificers. To the Nobility he committed the care of Religion, the choice of Magiſtrates, the teaching and diſpenſing of the Laws, and the interpretation of all Holy and Sacred matters; the whole City, in other reſpects, being as it were reduc'd to an exact Equality, the Nobles excelling the reſt in Honour, the Husbandmen in Profit, and the Artificers in Number. And that *Theſeus* was the firſt, who, as *Ariſtotle* ſays, out of an inclination to popular Government, parted with the Regal Power, *Homer* alſo ſeems to witneſs in his *Catalogue of the Ships*, where he gives the Name of *People* to the *Athenians* only.

He likewiſe coined Money, and ſtamp'd it with the Image of an Ox, either in memory of the *Marathonian Bull*, or of *Minos*'s General *Taurus*, (whom he vanquiſh'd) or elſe to put his People in mind to follow Husbandry; and from this Coin came the Expreſſion ſo frequent among the *Greeks*, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred Oxen. Having alſo made a ſure acquiſition of the Country about *Megara* to the Territory

of

of *Athens*, he erected that famous Pillar in the Straits of *Peloponneſus*, and made an Inſcription of two verſes, ſhewing the Bounds of the two Countries that meet there. On the Eaſt-ſide the Inſcription is thus:

This is not Peloponneſus, *but* Ionia.

And on the Weſt ſide thus:

This is Peloponneſus, *not* Ionia.

He alſo firſt inſtituted annual Games, in emulation of *Hercules*; being ambitious, that as the *Greeks*, by that Hero's appointment, celebrated the *Olympian* Games to the Honour of *Jupiter*, ſo by His inſtitution they ſhould celebrate the *Iſthmian* Games to the Honour of *Neptune*. For Thoſe that were there before obſerv'd, dedicated to *Melicerta*, were perform'd privately and in the Night, and conſiſted rather of Religious Ceremonies, than of any open Spectacle or publick Feaſt. But Some there are who ſay, that the *Iſthmian* Games were firſt inſtituted in memory of *Sciron*, at the Expiation which *Theſeus* made for his Murder, upon the account of the nearneſs of Kindred which was between them; *Sciron* being the Son of *Canethus*, and *Heniocha*, the Daughter of *Pittheus*: tho' others write, that *Sinnis*, and not *Sciron*, was their Son, and that to His Honour, and not to the Others, theſe Games were ordain'd by *Theſeus*. And *Hellanicus* and *Andron* of *Halicarnaſſus* write, that at the ſame time he made an Agreement with the *Corinthians*, that they ſhould allow Them who came from *Athens* to the Celebration of the *Iſthmian* Games, as much ſpace to behold the Spectacle in, as the Sail of the publick Ship that brought them thither, ſtretch'd to its full extent, could cover, and That in the firſt and moſt honourable Place.

Concerning the Voyage that he made in the *Euxine Sea*, there are different Relations; for *Philochorus* and ſome others write, that he undertook this Expedition with *Hercules*, offering him his Service in the War againſt the *Amazons*, and had *Antiope* given him for the reward of his Valour: But the greater number, (among whom are *Pherecydes*, *Hellanicus* and *Herodorus*)

write, that he made this Voyage many years after *Hercules*, with a Navy under his own Command, and took the *Amazon* Priſoner; and indeed This ſeems to come neareſt the Truth, for we do not read that any other of All thoſe who accompanied him in this Action, took any *Amazon* Priſoner. And beſides, *Bion* writes, that he ſtole her away by deceit, and fled; for the *Amazons* (he ſays) being naturally Lovers of Men, were ſo far from flying from *Theſeus* when he touch'd upon their Coaſts, that they entertain'd him with great Civility, and ſent him Preſents to his Ship; but He having invited *Antiope*, who brought them, to come aboard, immediately ſet Sail and carry'd her away. One *Menecrates* alſo, who wrote the Hiſtory of *Nicæa* in *Bithynia*, adds, that *Theſeus* having *Antiope* aboard his Veſſel, cruiſed for ſome time about thoſe Coaſts; and that there were in the ſame Ship three young Noblemen of *Athens*, that accompanied him in this Voyage, all Brothers, whoſe Names were *Euneus*, *Thoas*, and *Soloon*. The laſt of Theſe fell deſperately in Love with *Antiope*, but conceal'd it with all poſſible care; only to one of his moſt intimate acquaintance he reveal'd the Secret, and employ'd him to break his Paſſion to *Antiope*; ſhe rejected his pretences with a very ſharp denial, yet carried herſelf to him with all outward appearance of Civility, and very prudently made no complaint to *Theſeus* of any thing that had happen'd: but *Soloon*, urg'd by deſpair, leap'd into a River near the Sea-ſide, and drowned himſelf. As ſoon as *Theſeus* was acquainted with his Death, and his unhappy Love that was the cauſe of it, he was extremely concern'd, and in the height of his grief, an Oracle which he had formerly receiv'd at *Delphi* came into his mind, for he had been commanded by the Prieſteſs of *Apollo Pythius*, that where-ever in his Travels he was moſt ſorrowful, and under the greateſt affliction, he ſhould build a City There, and leave ſome of his Followers to be Governors of the Place. For this cauſe he There founded a City, which he call'd from the Name of *Apollo*,

Apollo, Pythopolis; and in honour of the unfortunate Youth, he nam'd the River that runs by it, *Soloon*, and left the two ſurviving Brothers intruſted with the care of the Government and Laws, joining with them *Hermus*, one of the Nobility of *Athens*, from whom a certain Place in the City is by the Inhabitants of *Pythopolis* call'd *The Houſe of Hermus*; tho' by an error in the accent of the word, they have falſly taken it for *the Houſe of Hermes*, or *Mercury*, and the Honour that was deſign'd to the Hero, they have transferr'd to the God. And This was the riſe and ground of the War with the *Amazons*, which appears to have been no ſlight or womaniſh buſineſs; for it is impoſſible they ſhould have plac'd their Camp in the heart of the City, and join'd Battle, cloſe by the (2) *Common-Hall* and Temple of the *Muſes*, unleſs they had firſt conquer'd the Country round about, and without any delay or fear mov'd on boldly to the City. That they made ſo long a Journey by Land, and paſſed over the *Cimmerian Boſphorus* when it was frozen, as *Hellanicus* writes, is difficult to be believed. That they encamp'd in the City, perhaps may be ſufficiently confirm'd by the Names that the Places thereabout yet retain, and the Graves and Monuments of Thoſe that fell in the Battle. Both Armies now being in ſight, there was a long pauſe and doubt on each ſide which ſhould give the firſt Onſet: At laſt *Theſeus* having ſacrific'd to *Fear*, in obedience to the Command of an Oracle he had receiv'd, gave them Battle; and this Battle happened in the Month *Boëdromion* (i. e. *Auguſt*) the day on which the *Athenians* even to this time keep the Feaſt called *Boëdromia*. But *Clidemus*, deſirous to be very nice in each particular of this Affair, writes, that the left Wing of the *Amazons* mov'd towards the Place which is yet call'd *Amazonium*, and that on the right they came as far as the (3) *Common-Hall* near *Chryſa*: that with This the *Athenians* engaged, falling in upon the *Amazons* from the *Muſes Temple*; and that the Graves of Thoſe that

(2) *Call'd* πνὺξ.

(3) πνὺξ.

that were ſlain, are to be ſeen in the Street that leads to the Gate call'd *Piraica*, by the (4) ἡρῷον. (4) Chapel of *Chalcodon*: And that Here it was that the *Athenians* were routed, and ſhamefully turn'd their backs to Women as far as to the Temple of the *Furies*: But that freſh ſupplies coming in from *Palladium*, *Ardettus*, and *Lyceum*, they charg'd their right Wing, and beat them back into their very Tents; in which Action a great number of the *Amazons* were ſlain: That at length, after four Months, a Peace was concluded between them by the mediation of *Hippolyta*, (for ſo this Hiſtorian calls the *Amazon* which *Theſeus* marry'd, and not *Antiope*) tho' others write that ſhe was ſlain with a Dart by *Molpadia*, fighting by *Theſeus*'s ſide, and that the Pillar which ſtands by the Temple of the *Olympian* Earth was erected to her Honour. Nor is it to be wonder'd that the Hiſtory of things ſo very ancient, ſhould be ſo various and uncertain. For it is farther ſaid, that Thoſe of the *Amazons* that were wounded, were privately ſent away by *Antiope* to *Chalcis*, where many by her care recover'd, but Thoſe that dy'd were bury'd in the Place that is to this time call'd *Amazonium*. That this War was ended by a mutual League and Agreement, is evident both from the Name of the Place adjoining to the Temple of *Theſeus*, call'd from the ſolemn Oath there taken, *Horcomoſium*, and alſo from the ancient Sacrifice which is celebrated to the *Amazons*, the day before the Feaſt of *Theſeus*. The People of *Megara* pretend alſo to ſhew among them a place where the *Amazons* were buried in the figure of a Lozenge, in the paſſage from the Marketplace to a Place call'd *Rhus*. It is ſaid likewiſe, that Others of 'em were ſlain about *Chæronea*, and buried near a little Rivulet, formerly call'd *Thermodon*, but now *Hæmon*, of which I have formerly wrote in the Life of *Demoſthenes*. It appears further that the Paſſage of the *Amazons* thro' *Theſſaly* was not without oppoſition, for there are yet to be ſeen many of their Sepulchres near *Scotuſſæa* and *Cynos-Cephalæ*.

And

And This is as much as is worthy the Relation, concerning the *Amazons*. For the account which the ancient Author of a *Poem* call'd *Theſeis*, gives us, of this Invaſion of the *Amazons*, how that *Antiope*, to revenge herſelf upon *Theſeus*, for quitting her and marrying *Phædra*, came down upon the City with her Train of *Amazons*, and that they were ſlain by *Hercules*, is manifeſtly nothing elſe but Fable, and the Invention of a Poet. It is true indeed that *Theſeus* married *Phædra*, but That was after the death of *Antiope*, by whom he had a Son called *Hippolytus*, or, as *Pindar* writes, *Demophoon*. As to the Calamities which befel both this Wife *(Phædra)* and his Son *Hippolytus*, ſince none of the Hiſtorians have contradicted the Tragick Poets that have written of them, we are to take them for good, as all the Poets have deliver'd them. There are alſo other Reports concerning the Marriages of *Theſeus*, the beginnings of which were neither honourable, nor their events fortunate, which yet were never repreſented in the *Grecian* Plays. For he is ſaid to have forc'd *Anaxo*, the *Trœzenian*; and after he had ſlain *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, to have raviſh'd their Daughters; to have married *Peribœa* the Mother of *Ajax*, and then *Phæribœa*, and then *Iope* the Daughter of *Iphicles*. Further he is accus'd for deſerting *Ariadne*, (as is before related) being in Love with *Ægle* the Daughter of *Panopeus*, an action neither juſt nor honourable. And laſtly for the Rape of *Helen*, which fill'd all *Attica* with War and Blood, and was in the end the occaſion of his Baniſhment and Death, as ſhall hereafter be related.

Herodorus is of opinion, that tho' there were many famous Expeditions undertaken by the braveſt and moſt honourable Captains of his Time, yet *Theſeus* never made One amongſt them, Once only excepted, when he join'd with the *Lapithæ* in their War againſt the *Centaurs*: Though others ſay that he accompany'd *Jaſon* to *Colchos*, and *Meleager* to the ſlaying of the *Calydonian Boar*; and that hence this came to be a proverbial

bial Speech, *Not without Theſeus.* However 'tis allowed that *Theſeus* without any aid of the Heroes of his Time, did Himſelf perform very many and very great Exploits; and that from the high eſteem the World ſet upon his Valour, it grew into a Proverb, *This is another Hercules.* He was alſo very inſtrumental to *Adraſtus*, in recovering the Bodies of thoſe that were ſlain before *Thebes*, but not as *Euripides* in his Tragedy makes him, by beating the *Thebans* in Battle, but by perſuaſion, and mutual agreement and compoſition, for ſo the greater part of Hiſtorians write: nay, *Philochorus* adds farther, that This was the firſt Treaty that ever was made for the recovering and burying the Bodies of the dead; tho' the Hiſtory of *Hercules* ſays, that He was the firſt that ever gave leave to his Enemies to carry off the Bodies of their Slain. The burying-places of the Common Soldiers are yet to be ſeen in the Village call'd *Eleutheræ*, and Thoſe of the Commanders at *Eleuſis*, where *Theſeus* allotted them a place for their Interment, to oblige *Adraſtus*. And that the dead Bodies were thus recover'd, *Æſchylus* is Witneſs in his *Tragedy* call'd the *Eleuſinians*, where *Theſeus* himſelf is brought in relating the Story as it is here told; which quite overthrows what *Euripides* writes on this Subject, in his Play call'd *The Suppliants*.

The extraordinary and ſo much celebrated Friendſhip between *Theſeus* and *Peirithous*, is ſaid to have been thus begun. The Fame of the matchleſs Strength and Valour of *Theſeus* being ſpread thro' all *Greece*, *Peirithous* was inflam'd with a deſire to be ſatisfy'd, and make a trial himſelf of what he had heard ſo much by Report; to this end he ſeized a Herd of Oxen which belong'd to *Theſeus*, and was driving them away from *Marathon*, when News was brought that *Theſeus* purſu'd him in Arms: upon which, diſdaining to fly, he turn'd back, and went on to meet him. But as ſoon as ever they had view'd one another, Each ſo admir'd the Gracefulneſs and Beauty, and was ſeiz'd with ſuch a Reverence for the Bravery and Courage of the Other,

Other, that they forgot all thoughts of Fighting; and *Peirithous* firſt ſtretching out his hand to *Theſeus*, bad him be Judge in this Caſe himſelf, and promis'd to ſubmit willingly to whatever he demanded, in ſatisfaction for the injury he had done. But *Theſeus* not only forgave him all the damages he had ſuſtain'd, but intreated him to be his Friend and Brother in Arms; and there immediately they ſwore an inviolable Friendſhip to each other. After This *Peirithous* married *Deidamia*, and invited *Theſeus* to the Wedding, intreating him to come, and ſee his Country, and keep Company with the *Lapithæ*. He had at the ſame time invited the *Centaurs* to the Feaſt, who growing hot with Wine, began to be very inſolent and lewd, and offer'd violence to the Women; which ſo enrag'd the *Lapithæ*, that they took immediate revenge upon the Place, ſlaying Many of them upon the Spot: and afterwards having overcome them in Battle, drove the whole Race of them out of their Country, *Theſeus* all along taking their part, and fighting on their ſide. But *Herodorus* gives a different Relation of theſe things: That *Theſeus* came not to the aſſiſtance of the *Lapithæ* till the War was already begun; and that it was in This Journey that he had the firſt ſight of *Hercules*, having made it his buſineſs to find him out at *Trachine*, where he had choſen to reſt himſelf after all his wandrings and labours; and that This Interview was honourably perform'd on each part with extreme Civility, Reſpect and Admiration of each other. Yet it is more credible what other Hiſtorians write, that there were before frequent Interviews between them, and that it was by the means of *Theſeus* that *Hercules* was initiated and admitted to the Ceremonies of the Goddeſs *Ceres*, having before his initiation been firſt purify'd, as one that wanted it upon account of ſeveral raſh Actions of his former Life.

Theſeus was now fifty years old, as *Hellanicus* reports, when he fell upon the adventure of ſtealing *Helen*, who was very young, and not of Age to be married. Wherefore

fore ſome Writers, to take away this Accuſation of one of the greateſt Crimes that is laid to his charge, ſay, that he did not ſteal away *Helen* Himſelf, but that *Idas* and *Lynceus* were the Raviſhers, who brought her to him, and committed her to his Charge, and that therefore he refus'd to reſtore her at the demand of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; or according to Others, that he receiv'd her from her own Father *Tyndarus*, who ſent her to be kept by him, for fear of *Enarphorus* the Son of *Hippocoon*, who would have carry'd her away by force when ſhe was yet a Child. But the moſt probable Relation, and That which has moſt Witneſſes on its ſide, is This: *Theſeus* and *Peirithous* went both together to *Sparta*, and having ſeiz'd the young Lady, as ſhe was dancing in the Temple of *Diana Orthia*, fled away with her. There were preſently Men in Arms ſent to purſue the Raviſhers, but they followed the purſuit no farther than to *Tegea*; and *Theſeus* and *Peirithous* being now out of danger, having eſcap'd out of *Peloponneſus*, made an ageeement between themſelves, that He to whom the lot ſhou'd fall, ſhould have *Helen* to his Wife, but ſhould be oblig'd to be ready with his aſſiſtance to procure Another for his Friend. Upon this Compact the lot fell unto *Theſeus* who took the young Lady, not being yet marriageable, and convey'd her to *Aphidnæ*; and placing his own Mother *(Æthra)* with her, committed them to *Aphidnus* one of his Friends; charging him to keep them ſo ſecretly, that none might know where they were. Which done, to return the ſame ſervice to his Friend *Peirithous*, he accompany'd him in his Journey to *Epirus*, in order to ſteal away the Daughter of *Aïdoneus* (i. e, *Pluto)* King of the *Moloſſians*: This King named his Wife *Proſerpina*, and his Daughter *Corè*, and a great Dog which he kept, *Cerberus*, with Whom he order'd all that came as Suitors to his Daughter to fight, and promis'd her to Him that ſhould overcome the Beaſt. But having been inform'd, that the deſign of *Peirithous* and his Companion's coming was not to court his Daughter,

Daughter, but to force her away, he cauſed them Both to be ſeized, and threw *Peirithous* to be torn in pieces by his Dog, and clapt up *Theſeus* into Priſon, and kept him in Chains.

About this time, *Meneſtheus*, the Son of *Peteus*, Grandſon of *Orneus*, and great Grandſon to *Erectheus*, the firſt Man that is recorded to have affected Popularity, and ingratiated himſelf with the Multitude, ſtir'd up and exaſperated the moſt eminent Men of the City, who had long born a ſecret grudge to *Theſeus*, as being poſſeſt with a belief that *Theſeus* had taken from each of the Nobility their ſeveral little Kingdoms and Lordſhips, that ſo having pent them all up in one City, he might uſe them as his Subjects and Slaves. He put alſo the meaner ſort into no ſmall commotion, by accuſing them ſharply, that being deluded with a mere dream of Liberty, tho' indeed they were depriv'd both of That, and of their Countries and their Temples, inſtead of many good and gracious Kings of their own, they had given themſelves up to be lorded over by a New-comer and a Stranger. Whilſt he was thus buſied in infecting the minds of the Citizens, the War that *Caſtor* and *Pollux* brought againſt *Athens* came very opportunely to further the Sedition he had been promoting; and Some ſay that He by his perſuaſions was wholly the cauſe of their invading the City. At their firſt approach they committed no Acts of Hoſtility, but peaceably demanded their Siſter *Helen*; but the *Athenians* returning anſwer, that they neither had her among them, nor knew where ſhe was diſpos'd of, they prepar'd to aſſault the City. But *Academus* (by what means he came to the knowledge of it, is uncertain) diſcover'd to them that ſhe was ſecretly kept at *Aphidnæ*: For which Reaſon he was both extremely honour'd during his Life by the Sons of *Tyndarus*; and the *Lacedæmonians*, when in after-times they made ſeveral Incurſions into *Attica*, and deſtroy'd all the Country round about, ſpar'd the *Academy* for his ſake. But *Dicæarchus* writes, that there were two *Arcadians* in

the Army of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, the one call'd *Echedemus*, and the other *Marathus*; from the Firſt, That which is now call'd the *Academy*, was then nam'd *Echedemia*, and the Village *Marathon* had its Name from the Other, who according to the Oracle willingly offer'd up himſelf a Sacrifice at the head of the Army. As ſoon as they were arriv'd at *Aphidnæ*, they firſt overcame their Enemies in a ſet Battle, and then aſſaulted and took the Town. And here, they ſay, *Alycus*, the Son of *Sciron*, was ſlain on the party of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, from whom a Place in *Megara*, where he was bury'd, is call'd *Alycus* to this day. And *Hereas* writes, that it was *Theſeus* himſelf that kill'd him, in witneſs of which he cites theſe Verſes concerning *Alycus*.

Τόν ἐν ἐυρυχόρῳ ποτ' Ἀφίδνῃ
Μαρνάμενον Θησεὺς Ἑλένης ἕνεκ' ἠυκόμοιο
Κτείνει.

And Alycus *on fair* Aphidna's *Plain*,
By Theſeus *in the Cauſe of* Helen *ſlain*.

Tho' it is not at all probable, that *Theſeus* himſelf was there when both the City and his own Mother were taken. *Aphidnæ* being now taken, and the whole City of *Athens* in great Conſternation, *Meneſtheus* perſuaded the People to open their Gates, and receive *Caſtor* and *Pollux* with all manner of Civility and Friendſhip, who, he told them, deſign'd no Violence or Injury to any but *Theſeus*, who had firſt done them wrong, but were Benefactors and Saviours to all Mankind beſide. And their behaviour to the conquer'd gave credit to what *Meneſtheus* promis'd; for having made themſelves abſolute Maſters of the Place, they demanded no more than to be initiated in the Ceremonies of the Goddeſs *Ceres*, ſince they were as nearly related to their City as *Hercules* was, who had receiv'd the ſame Honour. This their deſire they eaſily obtain'd, and were adopted by *Aphidnus*,

Aphidnus, as *Hercules* had been by *Pylius*. They were honour'd alſo like Gods, and call'd by a new Name, *Anaces*, either from the (5) Ceſſation of the War, or from the ſingular care they took that none ſhould ſuffer any injury, tho' there was ſo great an Army within the Walls of the City; for the Phraſe (Ἀναχὰς ἴχειν) ſignifies keeping and taking care of any thing, from whence it is likely that Kings were call'd *Anactes*. Others ſay, that from the appearance of their Star in the Heavens, they were thus call'd, for in the *Attick* Dialect this Name comes very near the words (6) that ſignify *Above*.

(5) *In Greek* Ἀνοχὴ.

(6) ἀνίκας, *and* ἀνέχαθεν.

Some ſay that *Æthra*, *Theſeus* his Mother, was here taken Priſoner, and carried to *Lacedæmonia*, and from thence went away with *Helen* to *Troy*, alledging this Verſe of *Homer* to prove that ſhe waited upon *Helen*.

Αἴθρη Πιτθῆος θύγατερ, Κλυμένη τε βοῶπις.

Æthra *of* Pittheus *born*; *and* Clymene *the fair*.

Others reject this Verſe as none of *Homer*'s, as they do likewiſe the whole Fable of *Munychus*, who, the Story ſays, was the Son of *Laodice* which ſhe bore privately to *Demophoon*, and was brought up likewiſe by *Æthra* at *Troy*. But *Iſtrus*, in the 13th Book of his *Attic Hiſtory*, gives us an account of *Æthra*, different yet from all the reſt: That after the Fight, wherein *Achilles* and *Patroclus* overcame *Alexander* (who is alſo called *Paris*) in *Theſſaly*, near the River *Sperchius*, *Hector* ſack'd and plunder'd the City of the *Trœzenians*, and took away *Æthra* Priſoner, who had been left there. But this ſeems to be an abſurd and groundleſs Tale.

Now it happen'd that *Hercules* paſſing once by the Country of the *Moloſſians*, was entertain'd in his way by *Aidoneus* the King, who in Diſcourſe accidentally

fell upon a Relation of the Journey of *Theſeus* and *Peirithous* into his Dominions, and what they had deſign'd to do, and what they were forc'd to ſuffer when they were taken. *Hercules* was extremely concern'd for the inglorious Death of the One, and the miſerable Condition of the Other. As for *Peirithous*, he thought it but in vain to expoſtulate with the King concerning his Death. But *Theſeus* being yet kept in Priſon, he begg'd to have him releas'd for his ſake, and obtain'd that favour from the King. *Theſeus* being thus ſet at liberty return'd to *Athens*, where his Friends were not yet wholly ſuppreſs'd; and all thoſe ſacred places which the City had deſign'd for himſelf he dedicated to *Hercules*, changing their Names from *Theſea* to *Heraclea*, four only excepted, as *Philochorus* writes. And now deſigning to preſide in the Commonwealth, and manage the State as before, he ſoon found himſelf fall'n in a Neſt of Faction and Sedition; for he diſcover'd that Thoſe who of a long time had hated him, had now added to their hatred of his Perſon a contempt of his Authority; and ſaw the minds of the People ſo generally corrupted, that, inſtead of obeying with ſilence and ſubmiſſion whatever was commanded, they expected to be flatter'd and ſooth'd into their Duty: having therefore ſome thoughts to reduce them by force; he was, by the prevalence of the Faction, and continual Diſorders, deter'd from the Attempt: And at laſt deſpairing of any good ſucceſs of his Affairs in *Athens*, he ſent away his Children privately into *Eubœa*, commending them to the care of *Elephenor* the Son of *Chalcodon*; and he himſelf having ſolemnly curs'd the People of *Athens*, in the Ward of *Gargettus*, in which there yet remains the Place call'd *Araterion*, (or the Place of *Curſing*) ſail'd to *Scyrus*, where he had Lands left him by his Father, and, as he perſuaded himſelf, a great Friendſhip with all thoſe of the Iſland. *Lycomedes* was then King of *Scyrus*: *Theſeus* therefore addreſſed himſelf to Him, and deſir'd to have his Lands put into his poſſeſſion, as deſigning to ſettle and dwell there;

there; tho' Others ſay, that he came to beg his aſſiſtance againſt the *Athenians*. But *Lycomedes*, being either jealous of the Glory of ſo great a Man, or to gratify *Meneſtheus*, having led him up to the higheſt Cliff of the Iſland, on pretence of ſhowing him from thence the Lands that he deſir'd, threw him headlong down from the Rock, and kill'd him. But Others ſay, he fell down of himſelf by an unfortunate ſlip of his Foot, as he was walking there after Supper according to his uſual Cuſtom. At that time there was no notice taken, nor were any concern'd for his Death; but *Meneſtheus* quietly poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Kingdom of *Athens*. His Sons were brought up in a private condition, and accompany'd *Elephenor* to the *Trojan* War; but after the deceaſe of *Meneſtheus*, who dy'd in the ſame Expedition, They return'd to *Athens*, and recover'd the Government to Themſelves. But in ſucceeding Ages there were ſeveral remarkable Accidents that mov'd the *Athenians* to honour *Theſeus* as a *Demi-God*: and among the reſt, in the Battle which was fought at *Marathon* many of the Soldiers fancy'd they ſaw an Apparition of *Theſeus* all in Arms fighting in the head of them, and ruſhing on upon the *Barbarians*. And after the concluſion of the *Median* Wars, the Year wherein *Phædon* was Archon or Chief Magiſtrate of *Athens*, the *Athenians* conſulting the Oracle at *Delphi*, were commanded to gather together the Bones of *Theſeus*, and laying 'em in ſome honourable Place, keep them as ſacred in the City. But it was very difficult to recover theſe Relicks, or ſo much as to find out the Place where they lay, by reaſon of the inhoſpitable and ſavage temper of the barbarous People that inhabited the Iſland. But afterwards when *Cimon* took the Iſland, (as is related in his Life) and had a great deſire to find out the Place where *Theſeus* was buried, he by chance ſpy'd an Eagle upon a riſing ground pecking it with her Beak, and tearing up the Earth with her Talons; when on the ſudden it came into his mind, as it were by ſome divine Inſpiration,

to dig there, and ſearch for the Bones of *Theſeus*. There was found in that place a Coffin of a Man of more than ordinary ſize, and the braſs Head of a Lance, and a Sword lying by it, all which he took aboard his Gally, and brought with him to *Athens*. The *Athenians* being greatly tranſported at This, went out to meet and receive the Relicks of this great Man in a ſplendid and pompous Proceſſion, and did ſacrifice to them, as if *Theſeus* himſelf was return'd alive to their City. He lies interr'd in the middle of the City, near the Place where the Youth perform their Wreſtlings and other Exerciſes of Body: And his Tomb is a Sanctuary and Refuge for Slaves, and all Thoſe of mean condition, that fly from the Perſecution of Men in Power, in memory that *Theſeus* while he lived, was an Aſſiſter and Protector of the Diſtreſs'd, and never refuſed the Petitions of the Afflicted, that fled to him for Succour and Defence. The chief and moſt ſolemn Sacrifice which they celebrate to him, is kept on the 8th day of *Pyanepſion* (i. e. *October*) on which day he return'd with the *Athenian* young Men from *Crete*. Beſides which they ſacrifice to him on the 8th day of every Month, either becauſe he return'd from *Træzene* the 8th day of *Hecatombæon* (i. e. *June*) as *Diodorus* the Geographer writes, or elſe thinking that number of all others to be moſt proper to him, becauſe he was reputed to be the Son of *Neptune*; for they ſacrifice to *Neptune* on the 8th day of every Month; for the Number Eight being the firſt Cube of an even Number, and the double of the firſt Square ſeemed to be an Emblem of the ſtedfaſt and immoveable Power of this God, who has the Names of *Aſphalius* and *Gæiochus*, (that is, *the Eſtabliſher, and Stayer of the Earth.*)

THE LIFE OF ROMULUS.

BY whom, and for what reaſon, the City of *Rome*, a Name ſo great in Glory, and famous in the mouths of all men, was ſo firſt call'd, Authors do not agree. Some are of opinion that the *Pelaſgians*, after they had over-run the greater part of the habitable World, and ſubdued moſt Nations, fix'd themſelves here, and from their own great ſtrength in War [which is the ſignification of the word in *Greek*] call'd the City by the name of *Rome*. Others, that after the taking of *Troy*, ſome few that eſcap'd the Enemy, fortunately meeting with Shipping, put to Sea, and being driven upon the Coaſts of *Tuſcany*, came to an Anchor off the Mouth of the River *Tiber*, where, their Women being miſerably tir'd and haraſs'd by the toilſomneſs of the Voyage, it was propos'd by one whoſe Name was *Roma*, a Perſon of the beſt Quality, and ſeemingly of the beſt Underſtanding too amongſt 'em, to burn the Ships: Which being done, the Men at firſt were very much offended at it; but afterwards, of neceſſity, ſeating themſelves near *Pallatium*, where things in a ſhort while ſucceeded far better than

than they could hope, in that they found the Country very good, and the People courteous, they not only did the Lady *Roma* all other great Honours, but they added This alſo, of calling the City they had built after her Name. From This, they ſay, came that Cuſtom at *Rome* for Women to ſalute their Kinſmen and Huſbands with Kiſſes, becauſe thoſe Women, after they had burnt the Ships, did make uſe of ſuch like Allurements to pacify their Huſbands, and allay the diſpleaſure they had conceiv'd. Some ſay, that *Roma*, from whom this City was ſo call'd, was Daughter of *Italus* and *Leucaria*; Others, the Daughter of *Telephus*, the Son of *Hercules*, who was married to *Æneas*; Others again, that ſhe was the Daughter of *Aſcanius*, *Æneas*'s Son. But then Some ſay, *Romanus*, the Son of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*, built it; Some, that *Romus*, the Son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomede* ſent from *Troy*; and Others, that it was founded by *Romus*, King of the *Latins*, that drove out the *Tuſcans*, who came originally from *Theſſaly* into *Lydia*, from thence into thoſe parts of *Italy*. Nay, thoſe very Authors, who by the cleareſt Reaſons make it appear, that *Romulus* gave Name to that City, do yet ſtrangely differ concerning his Birth and Family: For ſome write, he was the Son of *Æneas* and *Dexithea*, Daughter of *Phorbas*, who, with his Brother *Remus*, in their Infancy, was carry'd into *Italy*, and being on the River when the Waters were very rough, all the Ships were caſt away except only That where the Children were; which being ſafely landed on a level Bank of a River, they were both unexpectedly ſav'd, and from them the Place was call'd *Rome*. Some ſay, *Roma*, Daughter of that *Trojan* Lady who was married to *Latinus*, *Telemachus*'s Son, was Mother to *Romulus*; Others, that *Æmilia*, Daughter of *Æneas* and *Lavinia*, had him by the God *Mars*; and Others give you little leſs than mere Fables of his Original: As for Inſtance, that to *Tarchetius*, King of *Alba*, who was a moſt wicked and cruel Man, there appear'd in his own Houſe a ſtrange Viſion, which was the Figure of a Man's Yard, that

roſe

roſe out of a Chimney-hearth, and ſtaid there for many days: That there was an Oracle of *Tethys* in *Tuſcany*, from which, upon being conſulted, anſwer was brought to *Tarchetius*, that ſome young Virgin ſhould accept of the Embraces of the Apparition, and ſhe ſhould have a Son famous in his Generation, eminent for Valour, good Fortune, and Strength of Body. *Tarchetius* told the Prophecy to one of his own Daughters, and commanded her to entertain the Lover; but ſhe ſlighting the matter, put her Woman on the execution of it. *Tarchetius* hearing This, in great indignation impriſon'd the Offenders, purpoſing to put 'em Both to death; but being deter'd from Murder by the Goddeſs *Veſta* in a Dream, enjoin'd them for their puniſhment the working a Piece of Cloth, in their Chains, as they were; which when they finiſh'd, they ſhould be ſuffer'd to marry; but what-ever they work'd by day, *Tarchetius* commanded Others to unravel in the Night. In the mean time the Waiting-woman was deliver'd of two Boys, whom *Tarchetius* gave into the hands of one *Teratius*, with ſtrict Command to deſtroy 'em; but he took and expos'd 'em by a River ſide, where a Wolf conſtantly came and ſuckled 'em, and the Birds of all ſorts brought little morſels of Food, which they put into their Mouths; till a Neat-herd ſpying 'em, was firſt ſtrangely ſurpris'd, but venturing to draw nearer, took the Children up in his Arms. This was the manner of their preſervation, and thus they grew up 'till they ſet upon *Tarchetius*, and overcame him. Theſe particulars *Promathion* tells us, who compiled the Hiſtory of *Italy*. But the principal parts of that Account which obtains moſt Credit, and has the moſt Vouchers, was firſt publiſhed among the *Greeks* by *Diocles* of *Peparethos*, whom *Fabius Pictor* has for the moſt part followed: Not but that there are ſome other different Relations of the matter. However this Account, in ſhort, is as follows. The Kings of *Alba* deſcending lineally from *Æneas*, the Succeſſion devolv'd at length upon two Brothers, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. *Amulius*, to divide things into two

equal

equal ſhares, put in equivalency to the Kingdom all the Treaſury and Gold that was brought from *Troy*. *Numitor* choſe the Kingdom; but *Amulius* having the Money, and being able to do more with That than *Numitor*, he both with a great deal of eaſe took his Kingdom from him, and withal fearing leſt his Daughter might have Children, made her a Veſtal Nun, in that condition for ever to live a ſingle and maiden Life. This Lady Some call'd *Ilia*, Others *Rhea*, and Others *Sylvia*; however not long after ſhe was, contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Veſtals, diſcover'd to be with Child, and ſhould have ſuffer'd the moſt cruel Puniſhment, had not *Antho*, the King's Daughter, mediated with her Father for her: nevertheleſs ſhe was confin'd, and debar'd all human Converſation, that ſhe might not be deliver'd without *Amulius*'s knowledge. In time ſhe brought forth two Boys, extraordinary both in the bigneſs and beauty of their Bodies: Whereupon *Amulius*, becoming yet more fearful, commanded a Servant to take and caſt 'em away: this Man ſome call *Fauſtulus*; others ſay *Fauſtulus* was the Man who brought them up: whoever the Servant was, he put the Children in a ſmall Trough, and went towards the River with a deſign to caſt them in; but ſeeing the Waters flow down apace and very rough, he was afraid to go nigher, but dropping the Children near the Bank, went himſelf off. The River overflowing, the Flood at laſt bore up the Trough, and gently wafting it, landed 'em on a very pleaſant Plain, which they now call *Cermanum*, formerly *Germanum*, as it ſhould ſeem becauſe *Brothers* are called *Germani*. Near this Place grew a wild Fig-tree, which they call'd *Ruminalis*, either from *Romulus* (as it is vulgarly thought) or from (1) *Ruminating*, becauſe Cattle did uſually in the heat of the day ſeek Cover under it, and there chew the Cud; or chiefly from the ſuckling of theſe Children there; for the Ancients call'd the Dug or Teat of any Creature, *Ruma*, and the tutelar Goddeſs of all young Children

(1) Ruminor *ſignifies to chew the Cud.*

Children they ſtill call *Rummilia*, in ſacrificing to whom they make no uſe of Wine, but their Libations are with Milk. While the Infants lay here, Hiſtory tells us, a She-Wolf nurs'd 'em, and a little (2) Wood-pecker conſtantly fed and foſter'd 'em: Theſe Creatures are eſteem'd holy to the God *Mars*; and for the Wood-pecker, the *Latins* particularly worſhip and honour it. From hence Credit was more eaſily given to what the Mother of the Children ſaid, that ſhe was with Child by the God *Mars*; tho' they ſay that miſtake was put upon her by *Amulius* himſelf, being by him robb'd of her Honour, who appear'd to her all in Armour, and ſo committed a Rape upon her Body.

(2) Δρυοκολαπτης.

Others think the firſt riſe of this Fable came from the Childrens Nurſe, purely upon the ambiguity of a word; for the *Latins* not only call'd Wolves *Lupæ*, but alſo leud and proſtitute Women: And ſuch a one was the Wife of *Fauſtulus*, who nurtur'd theſe Children, *Acca Laurentia* by Name; to Her the *Romans* continue ſtill to perform their Sacrifices, the Prieſt of *Mars* every *April* offering ſpecial Libations at her Tomb; and This Feaſt they call *Laurentia* (3). They honour alſo another *Laurentia* much upon the like occaſion; as thus.

(3) *Or* Laurentalia, *according to* Ovid, *who ſays it was in* December.

The Keeper of *Hercules*'s Temple having, it ſeems, little elſe to do, propos'd to his Deity a Game at Dice, making a bargain that if he himſelf won, he would have ſomething valuable of the God; but if he was beaten, he would ſpread the God a noble Table, and procure withal a fair Lady to lie with him. Upon theſe terms reckoning firſt the Chances that were thrown for the God, and then for himſelf, he found plainly he had loſt; ſo being willing to ſhew himſelf a fair Gameſter, and thinking it honeſt to ſtick to the Propoſals he made himſelf, he both provided the Deity a good Supper, and ſeeing *Laurentia*, who was a fine Creature, tho' not as yet a fam'd Beauty, treated her in

equal ſhares, put in equivalency to the Kingdom all the Treaſury and Gold that was brought from *Troy*. *Numitor* choſe the Kingdom; but *Amulius* having the Money, and being able to do more with That than *Numitor*, he both with a great deal of eaſe took his Kingdom from him, and withal fearing leſt his Daughter might have Children, made her a Veſtal Nun, in that condition for ever to live a ſingle and maiden Life. This Lady Some call'd *Ilia*, Others *Rhea*, and Others *Sylvia*; however not long after ſhe was, contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Veſtals, diſcover'd to be with Child, and ſhould have ſuffer'd the moſt cruel Puniſhment, had not *Antho*, the King's Daughter, mediated with her Father for her: nevertheleſs ſhe was confin'd, and debar'd all human Converſation, that ſhe might not be deliver'd without *Amulius*'s knowledge. In time ſhe brought forth two Boys, extraordinary both in the bigneſs and beauty of their Bodies: Whereupon *Amulius*, becoming yet more fearful, commanded a Servant to take and caſt 'em away: this Man ſome call *Fauſtulus*; others ſay *Fauſtulus* was the Man who brought them up: whoever the Servant was, he put the Children in a ſmall Trough, and went towards the River with a deſign to caſt them in; but ſeeing the Waters flow down apace and very rough, he was afraid to go nigher, but dropping the Children near the Bank, went himſelf off. The River overflowing, the Flood at laſt bore up the Trough, and gently wafting it, landed 'em on a very pleaſant Plain, which they now call *Cermanum*, formerly *Germanum*, as it ſhould ſeem becauſe *Brothers* are called *Germani*. Near this Place grew a wild Fig-tree, which they call'd *Ruminalis*, either from *Romulus* (as it is vulgarly thought) or from (1) *Ruminating*, becauſe Cattle did uſually in the heat of the day ſeek Cover under it, and there chew the Cud; or chiefly from the ſuckling of theſe Children there; for the Ancients call'd the Dug or Teat of any Creature, *Ruma*, and the tutelar Goddeſs of all young Children

(1) Ruminor *ſignifies to chew the Cud.*

Children they ſtill call *Rummilia*, in ſacrificing to whom they make no uſe of Wine, but their Libations are with Milk. While the Infants lay here, Hiſtory tells us, a She-Wolf nurs'd 'em, and a little (2) Wood-pecker conſtantly fed and foſter'd 'em: Theſe Creatures are eſteem'd holy to the God *Mars*; and for the Wood-pecker, the *Latins* particularly worſhip and honour it. From hence Credit was more eaſily given to what the Mother of the Children ſaid, that ſhe was with Child by the God *Mars*; tho' they ſay that miſtake was put upon her by *Amulius* himſelf, being by him robb'd of her Honour, who appear'd to her all in Armour, and ſo committed a Rape upon her Body.

(2) Δρυοκολάπτης.

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in the Temple, where he had alſo laid a Bed, and after Supper lock'd her in, as if the God were really to enjoy her; and indeed it is ſaid, the Deity did truly bed the Lady, and commanded her in the Morning to walk the Streets, and whatever Man ſhe met firſt, Him to ſalute, and make her Friend. The Man ſhe met was by Name *Tarrutius*, far ſtricken in Years, but of a competent Subſiſtence, without Children, and had always liv'd a ſingle Life: This Man (4) knew *Laurentia*, and lov'd her well, and at his death left her ſole Heir of all his large and fair Poſſeſſions, moſt of which ſhe in her laſt Will and Teſtament bequeath'd to the People. It is reported of her, that being now a celebrated Beauty, and eſteem'd the Miſtreſs of a God, ſhe ſuddenly diſappear'd near the Place where the firſt *Laurentia* lay buried; the Place is at this day call'd *Velabrum*, becauſe, the River frequently overflowing, they went over in Ferry-boats much about this Place to the Market, which manner of Waftage the *Latins* call *Velatura*; Others derive the Name from *Velum*, a *Veil*, becauſe the Exhibiters of publick Shows, generally making their Proceſſion from the Market-place to the *Circus-maximus* (or common Show-place) did always *veil* the ſpace between, beginning at this place. Upon theſe accounts is the ſecond *Laurentia* ſo highly honour'd at *Rome*.

(4) ἔγνω.

All this while, *Fauſtulus*, *Amulius*'s Neat-herd, educated the Children privately from the knowledge of all Men; but, as Some ſay, and with the greateſt likelihood too, *Numitor* was conſcious all along to the thing, and made allowances under-hand to Thoſe that kept them. 'Tis alſo ſaid that when they were Boys they were carried to *Gabii*, and well inſtructed in Letters and all other Accompliſhments befitting their Birth and Quality. The reaſon of their Names (*Romulus* and *Remus*) was, as you find it in Story, becauſe they were ſeen ſucking of the Wolf. In their very Infancy, the Noble Structure of their Bodies preſently diſcover'd the natural Greatneſs of their

(5) Ruma *ſignifying a Dug.*

their Minds and Thoughts; and when they grew up, they Both prov'd of great Bravery and Manhood, attempting all Enterprises that seem'd hazardous, and shewing a Courage altogether undaunted. But *Romulus* seem'd rather to excel in Wisdom, and to have an Understanding more adapted to politick Affairs in his Life and Conversation among his Neighbours, both in feeding his Flock, and managing his Dogs for Hunting; raising a great Opinion in All, that he was born rather to Rule and Govern than be a Subject. To their Comrades, nay Inferiors, they were affable and courteous; but the King's Servants, his Bailiffs and Overseers, as being in nothing better than themselves, they despised and slighted, nor were they in the least concern'd at their Menaces or their Anger. They us'd honest Pastimes, and liberal Studies, and so far were they from esteeming Sloth and Idleness as Things commendable, that they constantly used the Exercises of Races, Hunting, catching of Robbers, taking of Thieves, and delivering the wrong'd and oppressed from Injury. Upon this account they became Famous.

Now there happening a Quarrel betwixt *Numitor*'s and *Amulius*'s Neat-herds, *Romulus* and *Remus* resenting the driving away of their Cattle, fell foul upon them, and put 'em to flight, and rescued withal the greatest part of the prey. At which *Numitor* being highly incensed, they little regarded it, but pick'd up and took into their Company a great many needy Fellows, and many Slaves to whom they gave opportunity and encouragement to revolt from their Masters. Now it happen'd that when *Romulus* was employing himself at a Sacrifice, (for he was a lover of holy Ceremonies and Prophecies) *Numitor*'s Neat-herds meeting with *Remus*, as he went with a small Retinue, fell upon him, and some few Blows and Wounds passing between them, took *Remus* Prisoner; who being carried before *Numitor*, and there accus'd of misdemeanors, *Numitor* would not punish him himself, fearing his Brother, as being a Person subject to be angry, but deliver'd him into his

Hands, and desir'd Justice might be done him, as he was his Brother, and had been injur'd by his Servants, who thought they might do what they pleas'd because He had the Sovereign Authority. The Men of *Alba* likewise resenting the thing ill, and thinking the Man dishonourably us'd, *Amulius* was induced to deliver *Remus* up into *Numitor*'s Hands, to use him as he thought fit. He therefore took and carried him home, and being struck with admiration of the Youth's Person, in proportion and strength of Body exceeding all men, and perceiving in his very Countenance the Courage and Presence of his Mind, which stood undaunted and unshaken in his present Calamities, and hearing farther all the Enterprises and Actions of his Life were answerable to what he saw of him, but chiefly (as it seem'd) God influencing and directing the Beginnings of such great things as were to follow; he having a desire and opportunity to enquire into the truth of him, in gentle Terms, and with a kind Aspect, raising a confidence and hope in him, ask'd him Who he was, and what were the Circumstances of his Birth. He taking heart, spoke thus: *I will, Sir, hide nothing from you, for you seem to be of a more Princely Temper than* Amulius, *in that you give a hearing, and examine fairly, before you punish; but He condemns before the Cause is heard. First then, We (for we are Twins) thought ourselves the Sons of* Faustulus *and* Laurentia, *the King's Servants; but since we have been accus'd and aspers'd with Calumnies, and are forced to stand upon our Defence every Day, we bear great things of ourselves, the truth whereof will appear from the issue of the danger I am at present in. Our Birth is said to have been miraculous, our Fostering and Nurture in our Infancy still more strange; by Birds and Beasts, to whom we were cast out, by them were we fed, that is, by the Milk of a Wolf, and the small Morsels of a Woodpecker, as we lay in a little Trough by the side of a great River: the Trough is now in being, and is preserv'd with Brass Plates round it, and an Inscription in old obscure Characters on it, which may prove hereafter perhaps*

(but

(but very inſignificant) tokens to our Parents, when we are dead and gone. *Numitor*, upon theſe words, and recollecting the Time too, according to the young Man's Looks, ſlighted not the Hope that flatter'd him, but took care how to come at his Daughter privately, (for ſhe was ſtill kept under reſtraint) to talk with her concerning theſe Matters.

Fauſtulus hearing *Remus* was taken, and deliver'd up to *Numitor*, begg'd *Romulus* to aſſiſt in his reſcue, informing him then plainly of the particulars of their Birth; not but he had before given them ſome hints of it, and told them ſo much as might, if they attended to it, give them no mean thoughts of themſelves. He himſelf, full of Concern, and fear of not coming in time, took the Trough, and ran inſtantly with it to *Numitor*; but giving a ſuſpicion to ſome of the King's Centry at the Gate, and being gaz'd upon by 'em, and perplex'd with their impertinent Queſtions, could not but diſcover the Trough under his Cloke. Now by chance there was One among them who was at the expoſing of the Children, having with Othe[illegible] been employ'd in that Office; He ſeeing the Trough, and knowing it by its Make and Inſcription, gueſs'd at the buſineſs, and without farther delay telling the King of it, brought in the Man to be examin'd. In theſe dangerous Circumſtances, *Fauſtulus* was not a little intimidated, and yet they could not wholly force him out of All: He confeſs'd indeed the Children were alive, but tending their Flocks far off from *Alba*; that he himſelf was going to carry the Trough to *Ilia*, who had often greatly deſir'd to ſee it, for a Confirmation of the hopes of her Children. As Men generally do, who are troubled in Mind, and act either in Fear or Paſſion, it ſo fell out with *Amulius*; for he ſent in all haſte a Meſſenger, an honeſt Man, and a ſure Friend to *Numitor*, with Commands to enquire of *Numitor*, whether any Tidings had come to him of the Children, as if they were in Being. Now the Man being come, and ſeeing how little *Remus* wanted of being received into the Arms

and Embraces of *Numitor*, he both ſtrengthned his Belief of what he hoped to be true, and adviſ'd withal to undertake the Buſineſs with all expedition, and he himſelf cloſ'd with 'em, and acted jointly. The ſtrictneſs of time, tho' they had been deſirous, did not ſuffer them to demur: For *Romulus* was now drawn very near, and many of the Citizens, out of fear and hatred of *Amulius*, revolted to his ſide; beſides he brought great Forces with him, divided into Companies, conſiſting each of 100 Men, every Captain carrying a ſmall bundle of Graſs and Shrubs tied to a Pole. The *Latins* call ſuch Bundles, *Manipuli*, and from hence it is that in their Armies they call their Captains *Manipulares*. *Remus* gaining upon the Citizens within, and *Romulus* making Attacks from without, the Tyrant not knowing either what to do, or what Expedient to think of for his Security, in that Amazement and Diſtraction was taken and put to Death. Theſe being for the moſt part the Relations of *Fabius* and *Diocles* of *Peparethus* (who I think is the firſt that writes of the building of *Rome*) ſome ſuſpect them as only fabulous and made Stories; but they ought not wholly to be diſbeliev'd, if Men would conſider Fortune, what ſtrange things it ſometimes brings about; and take an eſtimate of the Actions of the *Romans*, how improbable it is they could arrive at this Greatneſs, had They not ſome miraculous Original, attended with great and extraordinary Circumſtances.

Amulius now being dead, and Matters quietly diſpos'd, the two Brothers would neither dwell in *Alba* without Governing there, nor were they willing to take the Government into their own hands, during the Life of their Grandfather. Having therefore deliver'd the Dominion up into his hands, and paid their Mother ſuch Reſpects as their Duty oblig'd 'em to, they reſolv'd to live by themſelves, and build a City in the ſame place where they were in their Infancy brought up; for This was the moſt ſpecious pretence they could make for their departure: Tho' perhaps it was neceſſary, ſo many

ſhoals

ſhoals of Slaves and Fugitives continually flocking to 'em, either to ſee their power totally deſtroy'd, by diſperſing them, or elſe to take a ſeparate habitation elſewhere with 'em: For that the Inhabitants of *Alba* did not think Fugitives worthy of being receiv'd and incorporated Citizens among them, firſt plainly appear'd, from the Adventure upon the *Sabines*, which really was not attempted out of any violent Luſt, but deliberately, purely out of want and neceſſity of lawful Wives, whom they afterwards extremely lov'd and honour'd.

Not long after the firſt Foundation of the City, they open'd a Sanctuary of Refuge for all Fugitives, which they call'd the Temple of the God *Aſylæus*, where they receiv'd and protected all, delivering none back, either the Servant to his Maſter, the Debtor to his Creditors, or the Murderer into the hands of the Magiſtrate; ſaying it was a Privileg'd Place, and they could ſo maintain it by an Order of the holy Oracle: inſomuch that the City grew preſently very Populous, for they ſay it conſiſted at firſt of no more than 1000 Houſes. But of That hereafter.

Their minds being fully bent upon Building, there aroſe preſently a difference about the Place where. *Romulus* built a Square of Houſes, which he call'd *Rome*, and would have the City be there; *Remus* laid out a piece of Ground on the *Aventine* Mount, well fortify'd by nature, which was then from him call'd *Remonius*, but now *Rignarium*. Concluding at laſt to decide the Conteſt by a Divination from a Flight of Birds, and placing themſelves apart at ſome diſtance, to *Remus*, they ſay, appear'd ſix Vulturs, to *Romulus* double the Number; others ſay, *Remus* did truly ſee his Number and that *Romulus* feign'd His, but when *Remus* came to him, that then he did indeed ſee Twelve. Hence it is that the *Romans* in their Divinations from Birds, do chiefly regard the Vultur. Tho' *Herodorus* of *Pontus* relates that *Hercules* was always very joyful when a Vultur appear'd to him upon any Action; for it is a

Creature the leaſt hurtful of any, pernicious neither to Corn, Plants, or any Cattle; it preys only upon Carrion, and never kills or hurts any living thing; and as for Birds, it touches not them tho' they are dead, as being of its own Species; whereas Eagles, Owls, and Hawks, prey upon all their own Fellow-creatures; but *Æſchylus* ſays,

Ὄρνιθος ὄρνις πῶς ἂν ἀγνεύοι φαγὼν;

What Bird is clean that preys on's fellow-Bird?

Beſides, all other Birds we ſee (as the ſaying is) every day, and they occur continually to our Senſes, but a Vultur is a very rare ſight, and you ſhall ſeldom meet with a Man that has ſeen any of their young; inſomuch that the rarity and unfrequency of 'em has rais'd an abſurd opinion in Some, that they come to us from ſome other Countries; as Soothſayers judge whatever happens preternaturally or inſpontaneouſly to be ſent from God.

When *Remus* knew the Cheat, he was much diſpleas'd; and as *Romulus* was caſting up a Ditch where he deſign'd the Foundation of the City-Way, ſome parts of the Work he turn'd to ridicule, Others he obſtructed: At laſt as he was in contempt ſkipping over the Work, Some ſay, *Romulus* himſelf kill'd him upon the Spot. Others, that it was done by *Celer*, one of his Companions: However there fell *Remus*. In that Scuffle alſo was *Fauſtulus* ſlain, and *Pliſtinus*, who being *Fauſtulus*'s Brother, Story tells us, had a ſhare in the Education of *Romulus*. *Celer* upon This fled inſtantly into *Tuſcany*, and from Him do the *Romans* call all Men that are ſwift of foot, or quick in buſineſs, *Celeres*; and becauſe *Quintus Metellus*, at his Father's Funeral, in a few days time gave the People a Shew of Sword-playing, they admiring his Expedition, gave him the Name of *Celer*.

Romulus,

Romulus, having buried his Brother *Remus*, together with his two Foſter-fathers, on the Mount *Remonius*, began to build his City, having firſt ſent for Men out of *Tuſcany*, who, with certain holy Ceremonies and drawing of Schemes, directed and taught how every thing ſhould be done, as is uſual in *Sacred Rites*. For firſt, They dug a Trench round That which is now the *Comitium*, or Hall of Juſtice; and into it did they ſolemnly throw the Firſt-fruits of all things, either good by Cuſtom, or neceſſary by Nature: laſtly, every Man taking a ſmall Turf of Earth of the Country from whence he came, they all threw 'em in promiſcuouſly together. This Trench they call'd *Mundus*, (the whole World) making which their Center, they deſign'd the City in a Circle round it. Then the Founder fitted to a Plow a Brazen Plowſhare, and yoking together a Bull and a Cow, drew himſelf a deep Line or Furrow round the Bounds; the buſineſs of them that follow'd after, was to ſee whatever Earth was thrown up, ſhould be turn'd all inwards toward the City, and not to ſlip a Clod that fell outwards. With this Line did they deſcribe the Wall, all within which were the Territories of the City, which they call'd *Pomœrium*, from *Poſt murum*, or *Pone mœnia*, by the cutting off or changing ſome Letters; where they deſign'd to make a Gate, there taking the Plowſhare out of the Ground they lifted up the Plow, and left a ſpace for it: whereupon they eſteem the whole Wall as holy, except only where the Gates are; for had they adjudged Them alſo ſacred, they could not without offence to Religion have had a free ingreſs and egreſs for the Neceſſaries of human Life, and for Things which are in themſelves unclean. As for the day on which they began to build the City, 'tis confeſs'd of all hands to be the 21ſt of *April*, and that Day the *Romans* do anniverſarily keep holy, calling it their Country's Birth-day. At firſt, they ſay, they ſacrificed no living Creature on this Day, thinking it very decent and behoveful to celebrate the Feaſt of their Country's Birth-day, purely, and without the ſtain of Blood:

Blood: nevertheleſs before the City was ever built, there was a Feaſt of the Herdſmen and Shepherds kept on this day, which went by the Name of *Palilia*. But now the *Roman* and *Grecian* Months have little or no Analogy; Theſe ſay the Day *Romulus* began to build was infallibly the 30th of the Month, at which time there was a Conjunction of the Sun and Moon attended with an Eclipſe, which happen'd in the 3d Year of the 6th *Olympiad*, which the *Grecian* imagine *Antimachus* the *Teian* Poet was acquainted with. In the times of *Varro* the Philoſopher, a Man very well read in *Roman* Hiſtory, liv'd one *Tarrutius*, his familiar Friend and Acquaintance, both a good Philoſopher and a ſkilful Mathematician, and One too that out of curioſity of Speculation had ſtudied the way of drawing Schemes and Tables, and ſeem'd to be excellent in the Art: to him *Varro* propounded to caſt *Romulus*'s Nativity, even to the firſt Day and Hour, and to make his Deductions from the ſeveral Events of the Man's Life which he ſhould be inform'd of, as the Solutions of Geometrical Problems do require; for it belongs to the ſame Science both to foretel a Man's Life, by knowing the time of his Birth, and alſo to find out his Birth by the knowledge of his Life. This task *Tarrutius* undertook, and firſt looking into the Actions and Caſualties of the Man, together with the time of his Life and manner of his Death, and then comparing all theſe Remarks together, he very confidently and poſitively pronounc'd, that *Romulus* was conceiv'd in his Mother's Womb, the firſt Year of the ſecond *Olympiad*, the twenty-third Day of the Month the *Ægyptians* call *Chæac*, (which may be ſaid to anſwer our *December*) and about the third Hour, at which time there was a total Eclipſe of the Sun; that he was born the twenty-firſt Day of the Month *Thoth*, (which is *September*) about Sun-riſing; and that the firſt Stone of *Rome* was laid by him the ninth Day of the Month *Pharmuthi*, (*April*) between the ſecond and third hour. For, as to the Fortune of Cities, as well as Men, they think they have their certain

tain Periods of time prefix'd, which may be collected and foreknown from the Positions of the Stars at their first Foundation. These and the like Relations may perhaps rather take and delight the Reader with their Novelty and Extravagancy, than offend him because they are fabulous.

The City being now built, *Romulus* listed all that were of Age to bear Arms into Military Companies, each Company consisting of 3000 Footmen, and 300 Horse. These Companies were call'd (6) *Legions*, because they were the choicest and most *select* of the People for fighting Men; the rest of the Multitude he call'd [*Populus*] the *People*. A hundred of the most eminent Men he chose for his Counsellors; these he stil'd *Patricians*, and the whole Body of 'em, the *Senate*, which signifies truly a (7) Consistory of venerable *Old Men*. The Senators, some say, were call'd *Patricians*, because they were the Fathers of honest and lawful Children; Others, because they could give a good account who their *Fathers* were, which every one of the Rabble that pour'd into the City at first could not do; Others, from *Patrocinium*, [or Patronage,] by which they meant, and do still mean, that Protection which they afford the Common People; attributing the Origin of the Word to *Patronus*, One of Those that came over with *Evander*, a Man signal for being a careful Defender of the Weak and Needy. But perhaps the most probable Conjecture may be to suppose, that *Romulus* esteeming it the Duty of the chiefest and wealthiest Men, with a Fatherly Care and Concern, to look after the Meaner, and withal encouraging the Commonalty not to dread or be aggriev'd at the Honours of their Superiors, but with all good Will to make use of 'em, and to think and call 'em their *Fathers*, might from hence give them the Name of *Patricians*. For at this very time all Foreigners style Those that sit in this Council, *Lords* and *Presidents*: but

(6) *From* Lego, *to choose.*

(7) Senatus.

but the *Romans* making uſe of a more honourable and leſs invidious Name, call them *Patres Conſcripti*; at firſt indeed ſimply *Patres*, but afterwards more being added, *Patres Conſcripti*: and by this honourable Title was the *Senate* diſtinguiſh'd from the *Populacy*. The reſt of the wealthier ſort he diſtinguiſh'd from the common People, by calling Them *Patrons*, that is, Protectors, and Theſe their *Clients*, that is, Dependents; by which means he created a wonderful Love and Amity betwixt 'em, which begat great Juſtice in their dealings. For *They* were always their *Clients* Counſellors in litigious Caſes, their Advocates in Judgments; in fine, their Adviſers and Overſeers in all Affairs whatever. *Theſe* again faithfully ſerv'd their Patrons, not only paying them all reſpect and deference, but alſo, in caſe of Poverty, helping them to place their Children, and pay off their Debts; and for a *Patron* to witneſs againſt his *Client*, or a *Client* againſt his *Patron*, That no Law nor Magiſtrate could enforce. But in After-times, all other Offices of Equity continuing ſtill between 'em, it was thought a baſe and diſhonourable thing, for the Better ſort to take Money from their Inferiors. And ſo much of theſe Matters.

In the fourth Month after the City was built, (as *Fabius* writes) the Adventure of ſtealing Women was attempted; and, ſome ſay, *Romulus* himſelf, being naturally a martial Man, and prediſpoſed too perhaps by ſome certain Oracles, as if the Fates had ordain'd the future Growth and Greatneſs of *Rome* ſhould depend upon the benefit of War, did begin to uſe Violence to the *Sabins*, and that he took away only thirty Virgins, rather to give an occaſion of War, than out of any want of Women; tho' This is not very probable, but rather that he obſerving his City preſently fill'd by a Confluence of Foreigners, few of whom had Wives, and that the Multitude in general, conſiſting of a mixture of mean and obſcure Creatures, fell under Contempt, and ſeem'd to be of no long continuance together; and hoping farther, after the Women were appeas'd,

peas'd, to make this Injury in ſome meaſure an occaſion of Confederacy and mutual Commerce with the *Sabins*, he took in hand this exploit after this manner: Firſt he gave it out, as if he had found an Altar of a certain God hid under ground, the God they call'd *Conſus*, meaning either the God of *Counſel*, (for they ſtill call a Conſult, *Conſilium*, and their chief Magiſtrates, *Conſules*, namely *Counſellors*) or elſe *Neptune*, the Inventor of Horſe-riding; for the Altar is kept cover'd in the greater *Cirque* or Tilt-yard at other times, only at Horſe-racing then it appears to publick view; and ſome ſay, it was not without reaſon that this God had his Altar hid under ground, becauſe all Counſels ought to be ſecret and conceal'd. Upon diſcovery of this Altar, *Romulus* by Proclamation appointed a Day for a ſplendid Sacrifice, and for publick Games and Shews, to entertain all ſorts of People, and many flock'd thither; he himſelf ſat uppermoſt, amidſt his Nobles, clad in Purple. Now the Sign of their falling on was to be, whenever he aroſe and gather'd up his Robe, and threw it over his Body; his Men ſtood all ready arm'd, with their Eyes intent upon him; and when the Sign was given, drawing their Swords, and falling on with a great Shout, raviſh'd away the Daughters of the *Sabins*, but ſuffered the Men to fly off without any let or hindrance. Some ſay, there were but thirty taken, and from Them were the Tribes or Pariſhes nam'd; but *Valerius Antias* ſays, 527; *Juba*, 683, all *Virgins*: which was the greateſt Excuſe *Romulus* made, That they had taken never a married Woman ſave One only, *Herſilia* by Name, and Her too unknowingly, who became the means of their Reconciliation, for as much as it appear'd, that they did not out of an Affront or Injury commit this Rape, but with a Deſign purely to join Families, and unite them upon the greateſt and ſureſt Bonds. This *Herſilia*, Some ſay, *Hoſtilius* married, a moſt eminent Man among the *Romans*; Others, *Romulus* himſelf, and that ſhe bare two Children to him; a Daughter, who by reaſon of *Primogeniture*

niture was call'd *Prima*, and one only Son, whom from the great Concourſe of Citizens to him at that time, he call'd *Aollius*, but After-ages, *Abillius*. But theſe things *Zenodotus* the *Trœzenian* writes, which are contradicted by many.

Among Thoſe who committed this Rape upon the Virgins, there were, they ſay, as it ſo then happen'd, ſome of the meaner ſort of Men, who were carrying off a Damſel, far excelling All both in Beauty and Comelineſs of Stature, whom, when (8) ſome Gentlemen that met 'em, attempted to take from 'em, they cried out, they were carrying her to *Talaſius*, a young Man indeed, but a brave and worthy Perſon. Hearing That, they commended and applauded them highly; inſomuch that ſome turning back, accompanied them with great joy and gladneſs, ſhouting and extolling the Name of *Talaſius*. Hence do the *Romans* at this very time at their Weddings ſing *Talaſius* for their Nuptial Word, as the *Greeks* do *Hymenæus*, becauſe, ſay they, this Lady proved a fortunate and happy Match to him. But *Seſtius Sylla* the *Carthaginian*, a Man wanting neither Learning nor Ingenuity, told me, *Romulus* gave this word as a ſign when to begin the Onſet; every body therefore who made prize of a Virgin, cried out, *Talaſius*; and for that Reaſon the Cuſtom continues ſo now at Marriages. But Moſt are of opinion, (of whom *Juba* particularly is One) that this Word was uſed to new-married Women, by way of Admoniſhment and Incitement to good Huſwifery, the *Greek* Word ταλασία ſignifying *Spinning*, and the *Greek* Language not being then mix'd with the *Italian*. But if this be not a miſtake, and if the *Romans* did at that time uſe the word ταλασία, as we *Grecians* do, a Man might fancy a more probable Reaſon of the Cuſtom. For when the *Sabins*, after the War againſt the *Romans*, were reconcil'd, Conditions were made concerning their Women, That they ſhould be oblig'd to do no other ſervile Offices to their Husbands but what concern'd

(8) ἔνιοι δὲ ἁρπάζοντας.

concern'd *Spinning*; it was customary therefore ever after at Weddings, for Those that gave the Bride, or led her, or for any one else present, sportingly to say *Talasius*, intimating thereby, how she was now brought to no other Servitude but what was in *Spinning*. Moreover it is a Custom at this very day, for the Bride of herself not to go over her Husband's Threshold into the House, but to be lifted over it, in memory that the *Sabin* Virgins were carried in by violence, and would not enter freely. Some say too, the Custom of parting the Bride's Hair with the head of a Spear, was in token that their Marriages began at first by War, and Acts of Hostility; of which I have spoken more fully in my Book of *Questions*.

This Rape was committed the 18th Day of the Month then called *Sextilis*, which is now *August*, on which the Solemnities of the *Consualia* are kept.

The *Sabins* were a numerous and martial People, but liv'd in small unfortified Villages, as it became them, who were a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, to be naturally of great Courage, and fear nothing; nevertheless, seeing themselves by great Hostages bound up to their good behaviour, and being solicitous for their Daughters, they sent Ambassadors to *Romulus*, with fair and equitable Requests, that he would return their young Women, and retract that Act of Violence, and afterwards in all Reason and Equity establish a friendly and neighbourly Correspondence between both Nations. But *Romulus* would not part with the young Women, yet propos'd to the *Sabins* to enter into an Alliance with 'em: upon which point some consulted and demurr'd long; but *Acron* King of the *Ceninenses*, a Man of great Courage, and well experienced in War, who had all along a jealousy of *Romulus*'s bold Attempts, and considering particularly from this Exploit upon the Women, he would grow formidalbe to all People, and indeed insufferable, were he not chastised, was the first that rose up in Arms, and with a powerful Army made head against him. *Romulus* likewise prepared to receive him;

but when they came within ſight, and viewed each other, they made a Challenge to fight a ſingle Duel, the two Armies ſtanding by under Arms without moving. Hereupon *Romulus* prayed and made a Vow to *Jupiter*, that if he did conquer his Enemy he would himſelf dedicate his Adverſary's Armour to his Honour; upon which he both overcame him in Combat, and after Battle was join'd, routed his Army alſo, and then took his City: but he did Thoſe he found in it no further injury, only commanded them to demoliſh their habitations, and attend him to *Rome*, there to be made Citizens equally capable of all Privileges: And indeed there was nothing did more advance the Greatneſs of *Rome*, than that ſhe did always unite and incorporate into her ſelf, Thoſe whom ſhe conquer'd. Now *Romulus*, that he might perform his Vow in the moſt acceptable manner to *Jupiter*, and withal make the Pomp of it delightful to the Eye of the City, cut down a tall Oak which he ſaw growing in the Camp, which he adorn'd like a Trophy, and faſten'd thereon *Acron*'s whole Suit of Armour, in its right Symmetry of Parts; then he himſelf girding his Garment about him, and crowning his Head with a Laurel Garland, his Hair gracefully flowing, carried the Trophy erected upon his right Shoulder, and ſo march'd on, ſinging Songs of Triumph, with his whole Soldiery in their Arms following after, the Citizens all receiving him with Acclamations of Joy and Wonder. The Pomp of this Day gave both the Original and Model to all After-Triumphs. This Trophy was dedicated to *Jupiter* ſurnamed *Feretrius*, from *ferire*, which in *Latin* is *to ſmite*; for *Romulus* pray'd he might ſmite and overthrow his Enemy. Theſe Spoils were called *Opima Spolia*, [or Royal Spoils] (ſays *Varro*) from their Richneſs, which the Word *Opes* ſignifies; tho' one would more probably conjecture from the Action, *Opus* ſignifying a *Deed* or *Act*: for when the General of an Army with his own Hand kills his Enemy's General, to Him alone is granted the Honour of offering the *Opima ſpolia*, as being the ſole Performer of that

that *Act* or *Deed* of Bravery. And on three only of the *Roman* Captains did this Honour ever happen to be conferr'd: Firſt on *Romulus*, upon killing *Acron* the *Ceninenſian*; next on *Cornelius Coſſus*, for ſlaying *Tolumnius* the *Tuſcan*; and laſtly on *Claudius Marcellus*, upon his conquering *Viridomarus*, King of the *Gauls*. The two latter, *Coſſus* and *Marcellus*, made their Entries in triumphant Chariots, bearing their Trophies themſelves: but *Dionyſius* is in the wrong to ſay that *Romulus* made uſe of a Chariot; for Hiſtory ſays, *Tarquinius*, *Damaratus*'s Son, was the firſt of the Kings that brought Triumphs to this great Pomp and Grandeur; others, that *Publicola* was the firſt that rode in a Chariot in Triumph: However, there are Statues of *Romulus* bearing theſe Trophies in Triumph yet to be ſeen in *Rome*, which are all on Foot.

After the Overthrow of the *Ceninenſians*, the other *Sabins* ſtill protracting the time in preparations, the People of *Fidena*, *Cruſtumerium*, and *Antemna*, join'd their Forces againſt the *Romans*; Battle was no ſooner join'd, but they were likewiſe defeated, and ſurrendred up to *Romulus* their Cities to be ſpoil'd, their Lands and Territories to be divided, and themſelves to be tranſplanted to *Rome*. All the Lands which *Romulus* acquir'd he diſtributed among the Citizens, except only what belonged to the Parents of the ſtolen Virgins, and Them he ſuffer'd to poſſeſs their own. The reſt of the *Sabins* being enrag'd hereat, chooſing *Tatius* for their Captain, march'd ſtraight againſt *Rome*; the City was almoſt inacceſſible, having for its Fortreſs That which is now the *Capitol*, where a ſtrong Guard was placed; and *Tarpeius* was their Captain, not *Tarpeia* the Virgin, (as ſome ſay, who would make *Romulus* appear to have been a very weak Man.) But however, this *Tarpeia*, the Captain's Daughter, coveting the Golden Bracelets ſhe ſaw the *Sabins* wear, betrayed the Fort into their hands, and aſked in reward of her Treachery, All they wore on their left Arms. *Tatius* conditioning

ditioning thus with her, in the night she open'd one of the Gates, and received the *Sabins* in: And truly (for ought I see) it is not *Antigonus* alone that said, *He lov'd Betrayers, but hated them after they had betray'd*; nor *Cæsar*, who said in the Case of *Rhymitacles* the *Thracian*, that *He lov'd the Treason, but hated the Traitor*. But it is a general kind of Disposition which all Men, who have occasion for wicked Persons, bear towards them; much such as they have for venomous Creatures, when they stand in need of their Poison and Gall; for as they love them while they are of use, so they abhor their ill qualities when that is over. And thus did *Tatius* behave himself towards *Tarpeia*; for he commanded the *Sabins*, in regard to their Contract, not to refuse her the least part of what they wore on their left Arms; upon that he himself first took his Bracelet off his Arm, and threw That, together with his Buckler, at her; and all the Rest doing the like, she was born down and quite smother'd with the abundance of Gold and their Shields, and so died under the great weight and pressure of them: nay, *Tarpeius* himself being prosecuted by *Romulus*, was found guilty of Treason, as, *Juba* says, *Sulpitius Galba* relates. Those who write otherwise concerning *Tarpeia*, as that she was the Daughter of *Tatius* the *Sabin* Captain, and being forcibly detain'd by *Romulus*, acted and suffer'd thus by her Father's contrivance, speak very absurdly: Of whom *Antigonus* is one; but *Simylus*, the Poet, makes a most egregious blunder, who thinks *Tarpeia* betrayed the *Capitol* not to the *Sabins*, but to the *Gauls*, having fallen in Love with their King. Thus he writes:

Tarpeia *'twas, who dwelling close thereby,*
Open'd the Walls of Rome *to th' Enemy,*
She hot in lust of the besieging Gaul,
Betray'd the City's Strength, the Capitol.

And a little after speaking of her Death:

But

But yet the Gauls, *that ſtrong and numerous Foe,*
Drown'd not the Traitreſs in the Waves of Po,
But, with their Shields thrown on, her Body overlaid,
So dy'd, and was entomb'd at once, the wretched Maid.

Tarpeia afterwards was buried there, and the Hill from her was call'd *Tarpeius*, until the Reign of King *Tarquin*, who dedicated the Place to *Jupiter*; at which time her Bones were removed, and ſo it loſt her Name, except only that part of the *Capitol* which they ſtill call the *Tarpeian Rock*, from whence they are wont to caſt down Malefactors headlong.

The *Sabins* being poſſeſs'd of the Hill, *Romulus* in great fury offer'd them Battle, and *Tatius* put on the Courage to accept it, perceiving, if they were ſo conſtrain'd, where he might make a ſecure Retreat. The Level in the middle, where they were to join Battle, being ſurrounded with many little Hills, ſeem'd to enforce both Parties to a ſmart and deſperate Conflict, by reaſon of the Diffiulties of the Place, which had but a few narrow Outlets, inconvenient either for Flight or Purſuit. It happen'd too, that the River having overflow'd not many days before, there was left behind in the Plain, where now the Market ſtands, a deep blind Mud and Slime, which did not appear much to the eye, nor was eaſily avoided, and at bottom was very deceitful and dangerous: upon which the *Sabins* being unwarily about to enter, had good luck befel them; for *Curtius*, a gallant Man, eager of Honour, and of aſpiring Thoughts, being mounted on Horſeback, galloped a good diſtance before the Reſt, but his Horſe was mired, and he endeavour'd a while by Whip and Spur to diſintangle him; but finding it impoſſible, he quitted his Horſe, and ſaved himſelf. The Place from him to this very time is call'd the *Curtian Lake*. The *Sabins* being by this means warned to avoid this danger, began the Fight very ſmartly, in which the fortune of the day was very dubious, tho' many were ſlain; amongſt whom was *Hoſtilius*, who, they ſay, was Huſband to *Herſilia*, and Grand-

father to that *Hoſtilius* who reign'd after *Numa*. It is probable there were many other Battles in a ſhort time after, but the moſt memorable was the laſt; in which *Romulus* having receiv'd a dangerous Wound on his Head by a Stone, and being almoſt beat down to the ground by it, the *Romans* upon that gave way, and being driven out of the Plain, fled to the Mount *Palatine*. *Romulus* by this time recovering a little, and running upon his Men in their Flight, remanded them to their Arms again, and with a loud Voice encourag'd them to ſtand and fight. But being overpower'd with the number, and of Thoſe that fled no body daring to face about, he ſtretched out his Hands to Heaven, and pray'd to *Jupiter* to ſtop the Army, and not to neglect but rather maintain the *Roman* Cauſe, which was now in extreme Danger. This Prayer being made, Many were ſtruck with a Reverence for their Prince, and the Fear of Thoſe that fled was turned into a ſudden Courage. The Place they firſt ſtood at, was, where now is the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, (which may be interpreted the *Stayer*) there they rallied their Forces, and repuls'd the *Sabins* even to the Place call'd now *Rhegia*, and the *Temple* of *Veſta*; where both Parties preparing to renew the Fight, were prevented by a ſtrange and unexpreſſible ſight: for the Daughters of the *Sabins* which were formerly ſtolen, came running in great confuſion, Some on this ſide, Some on That, with miſerable Cries and Lamentations, like diſtracted Creatures, into the midſt of the Army, and among the dead Bodies, to come at their Huſbands, and at their Fathers: Some with their young Babes in their Arms, Others with their Hair looſe about their Ears, but All calling now upon the *Sabins*, now upon the *Romans*, in the moſt tender and endearing Words. Hereupon Both melted into compaſſion, and fell back, that they might make room for them betwixt the Armies. Now did a ſtrange lamentation ſeize all, and great grief was conceiv'd at the ſight of the Women, and at their Speech much more, which from Expoſtulations and high Words ended in Intreaties and Supplications.

Wherein

Wherein (ſay they) *have we injur'd or offended you, that we formerly have, and now do ſuffer under theſe Calamities? We were raviſh'd away unjuſtly and violently by Thoſe whoſe now we are; but when That was done, we were ſo long neglected by our Fathers, our Brethren, and Relations, that Time, having now by the ſtricteſt bands united us to Thoſe whom we once mortally hated, has brought it about, that the very Men, who once uſed violence to us, we now have a tenderneſs for in War, and lament their deaths. So that you do not now come to vindicate our Honour, as Virgins, from them that injured us, but to force away Wives from their Huſbands, and Mothers from their Children; making this your Aſſiſtance to reſcue us, more grievous to us Wretches, than your former betraying and neglect of us was; ſuch is* their *Love towards us, and ſuch* your *Compaſſion: if you make War upon any other Occaſion, yet even for our ſakes you ought to deſiſt, ſince you are our Fathers, our Grandfathers, our Relations and Kindred: But if this War be for us, take Us and your Sons-in-law, and reſtore us to our Parents and Kinsfolk, but do not rob us (we beſeech you) of our Children and Huſbands, leſt we again become Captives.* *Herſilia* having ſpoken much to this purpoſe, and others earneſtly making the ſame requeſt, a Truce was made, and the chief Officers came to a Treaty: the Women, during that time, brought and preſented their Huſbands and Children to their Fathers and Brethren, and gave Thoſe that would eat, Meat and Drink; and carried the Wounded home to be cured; and ſhewed alſo how much they govern'd within doors, and how indulgent their Huſbands were to 'em, in demeaning themſelves towards 'em with all kindneſs and reſpect imaginable. Upon this, Conditions were agreed upon, that what Women pleas'd might ſtay with Thoſe that had them (as 'tis ſaid) exempt from all drudgery and labour but Spinning; that the *Romans* and *Sabins* ſhould inhabit the City promiſcuouſly together; that the City ſhould be call'd *Rome* from *Romulus*, but the *Romans Quirites*, from *Cures* the Capital of the *Sabins*, and the Country

of

of *Tatius*; and that they Both ſhould govern and command the Army in common: The Place of this Ratification is ſtill call'd *Comitium*, from *Coire* to agree. The City being thus doubled in number, an hundred of the *Sabins* were elected *Senators*, and the Legions were increas'd to 6000 Foot, and 600 Horſe: then they divided the People into three Tribes; the firſt, from *Romulus*, were named *Rhamenſes*; the ſecond, from *Tatius*, *Tatienſes*; the third were call'd *Luceres*, from the *Lucus* (for ſo they call a *Grove*) where the *Aſylum* ſtood, whither many fled for Sanctuary, and were received into the City. And that they were juſt three, the very Name of *Tribe* and *Tribune* (*i. e.* Chief of the Tribe) does teſtify; each *Tribe* contained then ten *Curiæ* or *Wards*, which, ſome ſay, took their Names from the *Sabine* Women; but That ſeems to be falſe, becauſe Many had their Names from the different Regions which were aſſigned to them. Tho', 'tis true, they then conſtituted many things in honour to the Women: As to give them the Way where-ever they met them; to ſpeak no indecent Word in their Preſence; nor to appear naked before them; that they ſhould not be ſummon'd into Court before a Judge ſitting on Caſes of Blood; that their Children ſhould wear an Ornament about their Necks call'd the *Bulla*, (becauſe it was like a *Bubble*) and the *Prætexta*, a Garment edged with Purple.

The two Princes did not immediately join in Council together, but at firſt each met with his own Hundred, afterwards All aſſembled together. *Tatius* dwelt where now the Temple of *Moneta* ſtands; and *Romulus* cloſe by the (9) *Steps*, as they call them, of the *fair Shore*, near the deſcent from the *Mount Palatine* to the *Circus Maximus*. There, they ſay, grew the *Holy-Cornel-Tree*, of which they report, that *Romulus* once to try his ſtrength, threw a Dart from the *Aventine Mount*, (the Staff of which was made of *Cornel*) the Head of it ſtruck ſo deep into the Ground,

(9) παρὰ βαθμὺς καλῆς ἀπαχθῆς.

Ground, that no one, of Many that tried, could pluck it up: Now the Soil, being fertil, ſoon covered the Wood, ſo that it ſent forth Branches, and produced a Trunk of *Cornel* of conſiderable bigneſs. This did Poſterity preſerve and worſhip as one of the moſt Sacred things, and therefore wall'd it about; and if to any one it appear'd not green nor flouriſhing, but inclining to fade and wither, he preſently made outcry to all he met, and they with one accord cried for Water, as in a Fire, and would run from all Parts with Buckets full to the place. But, they ſay, when *Caius Cæſar* was repairing thoſe *Steps*, ſome of the Labourers digging too cloſe about it, by miſchance the Root corrupted, and the Tree withered.

The *Sabins* received the uſe of *Roman* Months: of which, whatever is remarkable, is mention'd in the Life of *Numa*. *Romulus* again took up their manner of Shields, for which he exchanged both his own and all the *Romans'* Armour, who before wore ſmall Targets after the manner of the *Argives*. But for Feaſts and Sacrifices, they partaked of them in common, not aboliſhing any which either Nation obſerv'd before, and inſtituting ſeveral new ones: Of which one was the *Matronalia*, inſtituted in Honour of the Women, for their putting an end to the War; as likewiſe the *Carmentalia*. Now *Carmenta*, Some think a *Deſtiny* preſiding over the Generation of Men, wherefore Mothers much revere and worſhip her. Others ſay, ſhe was the Wife of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, being a Propheteſs, and wont to deliver her Oracles in Verſe; and from *Carmen* a Verſe was call'd *Carmenta*, whereas it is generally confeſs'd her proper Name was *Nicoſtrata*. Others more probably derive *Carmenta* from *Carens mente*, as being bereft of her Wits, by reaſon of her wild Enthuſiaſms. Of the Feaſt of *Palilia*, we have ſpoke before. The *Lupercalia*, by the time of its Celebration, may ſeem to be a Feaſt of *Purification*, for it is ſolemniz'd on the *Dies nefaſti*, or *non-Court* days of the Month *February*, which a Man may interpret *Purifying*;

ing; and the very day of the Feaſt was anciently call'd *Februata*: But the Name of it originally ſignifies as much as the Feaſt of Wolves; in *Greek* λύκαια; and it ſeems upon this account to be of great Antiquity, and brought in by the *Arcadians* who came with *Evander*. But this is ſtill ambiguous, for it may come as well from the She-Wolf that nurſed *Romulus*; and we ſee the *Luperci* [the Prieſts who run about the City on that day] do begin their Courſe from the place where they ſay *Romulus* was expoſed. But the Ceremonies that then paſs, render the Original of the thing more difficult to be gueſs'd at; for there are Goats kill'd, then two Noblemen's Sons being brought, ſome are to ſtain their Foreheads with the bloody Knife, others preſently to wipe it off with Wool dipt in Milk; then the young Boys muſt laugh heartily after their Foreheads are wiped; that done, having cut the Goats skins into Thongs, they run about naked, only with ſomething about their Middle, laſhing all they meet; the young Wives, inſtead of avoiding, deſire to receive their ſtrokes, fancying it helps Conception and Childbirth. Another thing is proper to this Feaſt, that is, for the *Luperci* to ſacrifice a Dog. *Butas*, a certain Poet, who writ a fabulous account of the *Roman* Cuſtoms in Elegies, ſays, that *Romulus* and *Remus*, after the Conqueſt of *Amulius*, ran joyfully to the Place where the Wolf gave them Suck, and that in imitation of that, this Feaſt was kept, and that two young Noblemen ran, ſtriking at All that were in their way,

——— *As when from* Alba's *Town,*
Romulus *and* Remus *with their Swords did run:*

And that the bloody Knife applied to their Foreheads, was a ſign of the danger they were then in of being ſlain; and the cleanſing of them in Milk, was in remembrance of their Food and Nouriſhment. But *Caius Acilius* writes, that before the City was built, the Cattle of *Romulus* and *Remus* One day going aſtray, they, praying

praying to the God *Faunus*, ran about to ſeek them naked, that they might not be troubled with Sweat, and that for that Reaſon the *Luperci* run naked. And if this Sacrifice be by way of Purification, a Man might gueſs they uſed a Dog for that very purpoſe; for the *Græcians* in their Luſtrations, or Sacrifices of Purging, do carry out Dogs, and make very great uſe of that Ceremony they call, περισκυλακισμὸς, or a Sacrificing of a Dog. But if they perform This as a Feſtival of Gratitude to the Wolf for Nouriſhing and Preſerving *Romulus*, they do not abſurdly in killing a Dog, as being an Enemy to Wolves; or it is perhaps to puniſh the creature for moleſting the *Luperci* when they run about.

They ſay too, *Romulus* was the Firſt that conſecrated Holy Fire, and inſtituted Holy Virgins, call'd *Veſtals*; Others aſcribe it to *Numa Pompilius*: nevertheleſs they write, that *Romulus* was otherwiſe eminently Religious, and well-skill'd in the Art of Divination, and for that Reaſon had a *Lituus* always in his Hand, which is a crooked Rod, wherewith the Soothſayers deſcribe the Quarters of the Heavens, when they ſit to obſerve the flight of Birds. This of His, being kept in the *Palatium*, was loſt when the City was taken by the *Gauls*; and afterwards, that barbarous People being driven out, was found in the Ruins under a great heap of Aſhes, untouch'd by the Fire, all things about it being conſumed and burnt. He conſtituted alſo certain Laws, one whereof is ſomewhat ſevere, which ſuffers not a Wife to leave her Husband, but grants a Husband to turn off his Wife, either upon poiſoning her Children, or counterfeiting his Keys, or Adultery; but if the Husband upon any other occaſion put her away, he ordered one moiety of his Eſtate to be given to the Wife, the other devoted to the Goddeſs *Ceres*; and who-ever did caſt off his Wife to make an Atonement by Sacrifice to the (1) *Infernal Gods*. This too is obſervable as a ſingular thing in *Romulus*, that

(1) Χθονίοις Θεοῖς.

that he appointed no Puniſhment for real Parricide, but call'd all Murder Parricide, thinking the One deteſtable, but the Other impoſſible; and for a long time he ſeem'd to have rightly thought ſuch a Wickedneſs could never be; for in almoſt 600 Years together no Body committed the like in *Rome*; and *Lucius Oſtius*, after the Wars of *Hannibal*, is recorded to have been the firſt Parricide. But let thus much ſuffice concerning theſe Matters.

In the fifth Year of the Reign of *Tatius*, ſome of his Friends and Kinſmen meeting Ambaſſadors coming from *Laurentum* to *Rome*, attempted on the Road to take away their Money by force; which they not ſuffering, but defending themſelves, they kill'd them. So great a Villany being acted, *Romulus* thought it fitting preſently to puniſh the Malefactors; but *Tatius* ſhuffled it off and let them eſcape: and this only thing was the firſt beginning of an open Quarrel betwixt them, for otherwiſe they carried themſelves fairly one to another, and adminiſtred Affairs together with the greateſt Unanimity. The Relations of Them that were ſlain, being debar'd of Juſtice by reaſon of *Tatius*, fell upon him as he was ſacrificing with *Romulus* at *Lavinium*, and ſlew him, but honourably attended *Romulus* back, highly commending him for a juſt Prince. *Romulus* took the Body of *Tatius*, and buried it very ſplendidly in the *Aventine Mount*, near the place call'd *Armiluſtrium*, but altogether neglected revenging his Murder. Some Hiſtorians write, that the City of *Laurentum*, fearing the conſequence, deliver'd up the Murderers of *Tatius*; but *Romulus* paſs'd it over, ſaying, One Murder was requited with Another. This gave occaſion of Talk and Jealouſy, as if he were well pleas'd at the removal of his Copartner in the Government. Nothing of theſe things either diſturbed or raiſed any Feud among the *Sabins*; but Some out of love to him, Others out of fear of his Power, Some again reverencing him as a God, they All lived peacefully in admiration and awe of him. Many foreign Nations

Nations too did much admire *Romulus*; the ancient *Latins* ſent, and enter'd into League and Confederacy with him. *Fidenæ* he took, a neighbouring City to *Rome*, by a Party of Horſe, as Some ſay, whom he ſent before with Commands to cut off the Hinges of the Gates, and he himſelf afterwards unexpectedly came upon them. Others ſay, They having firſt made the Invaſion in foraging and ſpoiling the Country and Suburbs, *Romulus* lay in Ambuſh for them, and ſo having kill'd many of their Men, took the City; nevertheleſs he did not raze or demoliſh it, but made it a *Roman* Colony, and ſent thither on the Ides of *April* 2500 Inhabitants. Preſently after a Plague broke out, which kill'd ſuddenly without any manner of Sickneſs; it infected alſo the Corn with Unfruitfulneſs, and Cattle with Barrenneſs: there rained Blood too in the City, inſomuch as beſides the Evils which came of conſequence, Men dreaded the Wrath of the Gods. But eſpecially when the ſame Miſchiefs fell upon *Laurentum* alſo, then every Body judged it was Divine Vengeance that fell upon both Cities, for the neglect of executing Juſtice for the Murder of *Tatius* and the Ambaſſadors. But the Murderers on both ſides being deliver'd up and puniſh'd, the Calamities viſibly abated, and *Romulus* purified the Cities with Luſtrations, which they ſay, are even to this time perform'd at the Gate call'd *Ferentina*. But before the Plague ceaſed, the *Camerians* invaded the *Romans*, and over-ran the Country, thinking, by reaſon of the Diſtemper, they were unable to withſtand them; but *Romulus* preſently made Head againſt them, and gain'd the Victory, with the ſlaughter of 6000 Men: he then took their City, and brought half, of Thoſe he found there, to *Rome*, and ſent from *Rome* to *Cameria* double the number he left there. This was done the firſt of *Auguſt*. So many Citizens had he to ſpare, in 16 years time after he firſt inhabited *Rome*. Among other Spoils he took a brazen Chariot from *Cameria*, which he placed in the Temple of *Vulcan*, adding thereon his own Statue crown'd by Victory,

The *Roman* Cauſe thus daily gathering ſtrength, the weaker Neighbours ſubmitted, and willingly embrac'd ſecurity; the ſtronger, out of Fear or Envy, thought they ought not to make light of *Romulus*, but to curb him, and put a ſtop to his growing Greatneſs. The firſt were the *Veientes*, a People of *Tuſcany*, who poſſeſt a large tract of Land, and dwelt in a ſpacious City; they took an occaſion to commence a War, by redemanding of *Fidenæ*, as belonging to them. This was not only unreaſonable, but very ridiculous, that they, who did not aſſiſt them in the greateſt Extremities of War, but permitted the Men to be deſtroyed, ſhould now challenge their Lands and Houſes, when in the hands of Others. So being ſcornfully retorted upon by *Romulus* in his Anſwers, they divided themſelves into two Bodies: with One they attack'd the Garriſon of *Fidenæ*; with the Other they march'd againſt *Romulus*; That which went againſt *Fidenæ*, got the Victory, and ſlew 2000 *Romans*; the Other was worſted by *Romulus*, with the loſs of 8000 Men. They afterwards fought again near *Fidenæ*, and all Men acknowledge the greateſt Actions of the day were done by *Romulus* himſelf, who ſhewed all manner of Skill as well as Courage, and ſeem'd to perform with ſtrength and ſwiftneſs more than human. But what Some write, that of 14000 who fell that day, above half were ſlain by *Romulus*'s own hand, is very like a fable, or rather utterly incredible: ſince even the *Meſſenians* are thought to ſtretch too far in their brags of *Ariſtomenes*, who, they ſay, offer'd 300 Victims for as many *Lacedemonians* as he himſelf had ſlain. The Army (of the *Veientes*) being thus routed, *Romulus*, ſuffering Thoſe that were left to make their eſcape, drew up his Forces againſt their City. They, having ſuffer'd ſo great a defeat, did not venture to oppoſe him, but humbly ſuing to him, contracted a League and Friendſhip for 100 years: yielding up to him a great quantity of their Lands, call'd *Septimagium*, (which is the 7th part of their Patrimony,) as alſo parting with ſeveral Salt-ſprings upon the River;

and

and delivering into his hands fifty of their chief men for Hostages. He made his Triumph for This on the *Ides* of *October*, leading, among the rest of his many Captives, the General of the *Veientes*, an ancient Man, but One who seem'd to have managed his Affairs imprudently, and unbecoming his Age; whence even now in their Sacrifices for Victory, they lead an Old Man through the Market-place to the *Capitol*, apparell'd in Purple, with a *Bulla* or Child's Toy tied to it, and the Crier cries, *Sardians* to be sold; for the *Tuscans* are said to be a Colony of the *Sardians*, and the *Veientes* are a City of *Tuscany*.

This was the last Battle *Romulus* ever fought; afterwards he did, as most, nay all Men, very few excepted, do, who are raised by great and miraculous good-haps of Fortune to Power and Greatness: So, I say, did He; for relying upon his own great Actions, and growing of an haughtier Mind, he forsook his popular Behaviour, and took upon him in exchange the state of an Absolute Monarch, which was odious and intolerable to the People. And first, upon the Habit he chose to wear; for he dress'd in Scarlet with a Purple Robe over it; then he gave Audience in a Chair of State, having always about him some young Men call'd (2) *Celeres*, from their Swiftness in doing business: there went before him Others with Staves to make room for him, having several Cords (or thongs of Leather) in readiness, to bind whom ever he commanded. Now the *Latins* formerly used *ligare*, as now *alligare*, to *bind*, whence these Serjeants were call'd *Lictores*, and the Rods they carried were called *Fasces*; but it is probable they were first call'd *Litores*, afterwards by putting in a C, *Lictores*, for they are the same the *Grecians* call λειτουργοί (or Officers for the People) and the *Grecians* do still call the People in general, λήϊτος, and the common People λάος.

(2) Celer, *swift*.

When after the Death of his Grandfather *Numitor* in *Alba*, that Kingdom devolv'd upon *Romulus*, he put

the Government into the Hands of Magiſtrates in Common, to pleaſe the Populace, and elected yearly a particular Magiſtrate to ſuperintend the *Sabins*. But by ſo dangerous an Example he taught the Great Men of *Rome* likewiſe to ſeek after a Free and Anti-monarchical State, wherein All might ſhare by turns in the Rule and Government: For the *Patricians* (as they call them) were not now concern'd in State-Affairs, only had the Name and Title of Honour left them, convening in Council rather for Faſhion-ſake than Advice; where they in ſilence heard the King's Commands, and ſo departed, exceeding the Commonalty only in This, that they heard firſt what was done. Theſe and the like were Matters of ſmall moment; but when he of his own accord parted among his Soldiers what Lands were acquired by War, and reſtored the *Veientes* their Hoſtages, without either the Conſent or Approbation of the *Senate*, then indeed he ſeem'd to put a great Affront upon them; whereupon, when he ſuddenly diſappeared a ſhort while after, the Senate fell under ſhrewd Suſpicions and Calumnies. He diſappear'd on the *Nones* of *July*, as they now call the Month, which was then *Quintilis*, leaving nothing of Certainty to be related of his Death, only the Time. For there are now upon that Day many Ceremonies perform'd in reſemblance of that Misfortune. Neither is this Uncertainty to be thought ſtrange, ſeeing the manner of the Death of *Scipio Africanus*, who died at his own home after Supper, is neither much credited nor diſprov'd: for, Some ſay, he died eaſily and ſuddenly, as it were of his own accord, being naturally a fickly Man; Others, that he poiſon'd himſelf; Others again, that his Enemies breaking in upon him in the Night, ſtifled him. *Scipio* too when he was dead, lay open to be ſeen of All, and indeed his Body gave ſome Suſpicion, and means of diſcovering the Fact; but of *Romulus*, when he vaniſh'd, was neither the leaſt part of his Body, or rag of his Clothes to be ſeen: So that Some fancied, the Senators having fallen upon him, cut

cut his Body into pieces, and each took a part away in his Boſom; Others think, his Diſappearance was neither in the *Temple* of *Vulcan*, nor with the Senators only by; but that it happen'd, as he was haranguing the People without the City, near a Place call'd the (3) *Goats-Marſh*; and that on the ſudden moſt wonderful Diſorders and Alterations beyond Expreſſion or Belief aroſe in the Air; for the Face of the Sun was darkened, and the Day was turn'd into an unquiet and turbulent Night, made up of terrible Thunderings and boiſterous Winds, raiſing Tempeſts from all Quarters, which ſcattered the Rabble and made them fly, but the Senators kept cloſe together. The Tempeſt being over, and the Light breaking out, when the People gather'd again, they miſs'd and enquir'd for their King; but the Senators would not let them ſearch, or buſy themſelves about the Matter, but commanded them to honour and worſhip *Romulus*, as One taken up to the Gods, and who, after having been a good Prince, was now to be to Them a propitious Deity. The Multitude hearing This, went away rejoicing and worſhipping him, in hopes of good things from him: But there were Some who canvaſſing the Matter more ſeverely and rigorouſly, accus'd and aſpers'd the *Patricians*, as Men that perſuaded the People to believe ridiculous Tales, when They themſelves were the Murderers of the King. Things being in this Diſorder, one, they ſay, of the *Patricians*, of a noble Family, and moſt approved Converſation, and withal a moſt faithful and familiar Friend of *Romulus* himſelf, who came with him from *Alba*, *Julius Proculus* by Name, ſtepping into the Company, and taking an Oath by all that was moſt ſacred, proteſted before them All, that *Romulus* appear'd to, and met him travelling on the Road, comelier and fairer than ever, dreſs'd in ſhining and flaming Armour; and he being affrighted at the Appaition, ſaid, *Upon what Occaſion or Reſentments, O King, id you leave us here, liable to moſt unjuſt and wicked*

(3) Αἰγὸς ἄλος.

Surmiſes, and the whole City deſtitute, in moſt bitter Sorrow? And that He made Anſwer: *It pleas'd the Gods, O* Proculus, *that after we had remain'd a reaſonable time among Men, and built a City the greateſt in the World both in Empire and Glory, We ſhou'd again return to Heaven from whence We came. But be of good Heart, and let the* Romans *know that by the Exerciſe of Temperance and Fortitude, they ſhall arrive to the higheſt pitch of Human Power, and We will be to you the propitious God* Quirinus. This ſeem'd very credible to the *Romans*, both upon the Honeſty and Oath of Him that ſpoke it; and a certain Divine Paſſion, like an Enthuſiaſm, ſeized on all Men, for no Body contradicted it: but laying aſide all Jealouſies and Detractions, they prayed to *Quirinus*, and ſaluted him God.

This is like ſome of the *Grecian* Fables related of *Ariſteas* the *Proconneſian*, and *Cleomedes* the *Aſtypalæan*: for, they ſay, *Ariſteas* died in a Fuller's Work-houſe, and, his Friends coming to look after him, his Body vaniſh'd; and that Some preſently after coming in from a Journey, ſaid they met him travelling on the Road towards *Croton*. Of *Cleomedes* it is ſaid, that being an extraordinary ſtrong and gigantick Man, and withal of a furious diſpoſition and mad, he committed many deſperate Freaks. At laſt in a certain School-houſe, ſtriking a Pillar that ſuſtain'd the Roof with his Fiſt, he broke it in the middle, ſo the Houſe fell and deſtroyed the Children in it; and being purſued, he fled into a great Cheſt, and ſhutting the Lid to him, held it ſo faſt, that many Men with all their ſtrength could not force it open: afterwards breaking the Cheſt to pieces, they found no Man in it alive or dead, at which being aſtoniſh'd, they ſent to conſult the Oracle at *Delphi*, to whom the Propheteſs made this Anſwer:

Of all the Heroes, Cleomede *is laſt.*

They ſay too, the Body of *Alcmena*, as they were carrying it to her Grave, vaniſh'd, and a Stone was found

found lying on the Bier; and many ſuch Improbabilities do your fabulous Writers relate, deifying Creatures naturally mortal. Indeed, altogether to diſown the Divine Power of (4) Virtue is a profane and diſingenuous thing: but to confound Earth with Heaven is as ſtupidly ridiculous: therefore we muſt reject ſuch Vanities, being aſſur'd that, according to *Pindar*,

(4) i. e. *of virtuous Souls.*

All human Bodies yield to Death's Decree,
The Soul ſurvives to all Eternity.

For That alone is deriv'd from the Gods, Thence it comes, and Thither it returns; not with the Body, but when it is moſt free and ſeparated from it, and is altogether pure and clean, and diſengag'd from the fleſh: for *the dry Soul* (as *Heraclitus* phraſes it) *is beſt*, which flies out of the Body, as Lightning breaks from a Cloud; but That which is immerſed in Body and gorg'd with it, is like a groſs and cloudy Vapour, hard to be kindled, and mounting with Difficulty. We muſt not therefore, contrary to Nature, ſend the Bodies with the Souls of good Men to Heaven; but again we muſt really believe that, according to a Divine Nature and Juſtice, their virtuous Souls are tranſlated out of Men into Heroes; out of Heroes into Demi-Gods; out of Demi-Gods, (if they are, as by expiation, perfectly purged and ſanctified, and disburden'd of all Paſſions attending Mortality) in that Caſe they are, not by any political inſtitution, but really according to right Reaſon, chang'd and tranſlated into Gods, receiving the greateſt and moſt bleſſed Perfection.

Romulus his ſirname *Quirinus*, Some ſay, ſignifies as much as *Mars* or *Warlike*; Others, that he was ſo call'd becauſe the Citizens were call'd *Quirites*; Others, becauſe the Ancients call'd a Javelin or Spear *Quiris*; for the Image of *Juno* placed on a Spear was call'd the Image of *Juno Quiritis*, and the Javelin in the King's Palace was call'd *Mars*: and Thoſe that behav'd themſelves

ſelves valiantly in War, were uſually preſented with a Spear, and that therefore *Romulus* being a *Martial* God, or a (5) God of War, was call'd *Quirinus*; and there is a Temple built to his Honour on the Mount, call'd from him *Quirinalis*.

(5) αἰχμητὴν Θεόν.

The day on which he vaniſh'd is call'd the *Flight of the Rabble*, and *Nonæ Capratinæ*, or the (6) *Nones of the Goats*, becauſe they go then out of the City, and ſacrifice at the *Goats-Marſh* (i. e. *Capreæ palus*, for they call a Goat *Caprea*;) and as they go, they call out loudly upon the Names of ſome of their Compatriots, as *Marcellus* and *Caius*, imitating how they then fled, and call'd upon one another in that Fright and Hurry. Some ſay, This was not in imitation of a Flight, but of a quick and haſty Onſet; giving this account of it. After the *Gauls*, who had taken *Rome*, were driven out by *Camillus*, and the City had not as yet recover'd her Strength; many of the *Latins*, under the Command of *Livius Poſthumius*, took this time to march againſt her. This Army ſitting down before *Rome*, an Herald was ſent, ſignifying that the *Latins* were deſirous to renew their former Alliance and Affinity (that was now almoſt decayed) by contracting new Marriages between both Nations; if therefore they would ſend forth a good number of their Virgins and Widows, they ſhould ſettle into a Peace and Friendſhip, as they formerly did with the *Sabins* upon the like Conditions. The *Romans* hearing This, both dreaded a War, and yet thought a Surrender of their Women little better than a mere Captivity. Being in this doubt, a Servant-Maid, call'd *Philotis* (or as Some ſay, *Tutola*) advis'd them to do Neither, but rather, by a Stratagem, both to avoid fighting, and the giving up of ſuch Pledges. The Stratagem was This, that they ſhould ſend Her, with a Company of handſom Servant-wenches, well dreſs'd to the Enemy, inſtead of Freeborn Virgins; and ſhe would in the Night light

(6) Νόναι Καπρατίναι.

up

up a Torch, at which the *Romans* ſhould come arm'd and ſurpriſe the Enemy aſleep. The *Latins* were thus deceiv'd, and accordingly *Philotis* ſet up a Torch in a wild *Fig-tree*, skreening it behind with Curtains and Coverlets from the ſight of the Enemy; but it was plain to the *Romans*: And when they ſaw it, they ran furiouſly together out of the Gates, haſtning one another what they could; ſo falling in unexpectedly upon the Enemy, they defeated them. Upon that they made a Feaſt of Triumph, call'd the *Nones of the Goats*, becauſe of the wild Fig-Tree, call'd by the *Romans Caprificus*, or the Goat-Fig; and they feaſt the Women without the City in Arbors made of Fig-Tree Boughs, and the Servant-maids meet and run about playing: afterwards they fight in Sport, and throw Stones at one another, in memory of the Aid and Aſſiſtance they gave the *Romans* on that Occaſion. This many Authors do not admit for true: For the calling upon one another's Names by Day, and the going out to the *Goats-Marſh*, as to a Sacrifice, ſeems to agree more to the former Relation; unleſs perhaps both the Actions, done at ſeveral times, might have happen'd on the ſame day of the Week. Now, they ſay, it was in the fifty-fourth Year of his Age, and the thirty-eighth of his Reign, that *Romulus* left the World.

The Compariſon of Romulus *and* Theſeus.

THIS is all I ever happen'd to hear of *Romulus* and *Theſeus*, worthy of Memory. Firſt, *Theſeus* ſeem'd, out of his own Free-will, without any Compulſion, when he might have reign'd in Security at *Trœzene*, in the Enjoyment of no inglorious Empire, to have affected great Actions by

by himſelf. The Other, to eſcape preſent Servitude, and a Puniſhment that threatned him (according to *Plato*) grew valiant purely out of Fear, and dreading the extremeſt Sufferings, attempted great Enterpriſes out of mere neceſſity. Again, the greateſt Action of *Romulus* was only the killing of one King of *Alba*; whereas the by-Adventures only and Preludes of *Theſeus* were the Conqueſts of *Sciron*, *Sinnis*, *Procruſtes* and *Corynetes*; by reducing and killing of Whom, he ridded *Greece* of very violent Oppreſſors, before any of Them that were relieved knew who did it: and he might then without any trouble as well have gone to *Athens* by Sea, conſidering he himſelf never was in the leaſt injured by thoſe Robbers; whereas *Romulus* could not help being in Action whilſt *Amulius* lived. A great Teſtimony of This is, that *Theſeus*, for no wrong done to himſelf, but for the ſake of Others, did fall upon theſe Villains; but *Romulus* and *Remus*, as long as they themſelves ſuffer'd no Ill by the Tyrant, permitted him to oppreſs all Others. And if it be a great thing to have been wounded in Battle by the *Sabins*, to have kill'd King *Acron*, and to have conquer'd many Enemies; we may oppoſe to theſe Actions, the Battle with the *Centaurs*, and the Feats done againſt the *Amazons*. But what *Theſeus* adventur'd, in offering himſelf voluntarily with the other young Boys and Virgins, as part of the Tribute into *Crete*, either to be a Prey to a Monſter, or a Victim upon the Tomb of *Androgeus*, or, (what is indeed leaſt of all,) to live vilely and diſhonourably in Slavery to inſulting and cruel Men; a Man cannot expreſs what an Act of Boldneſs, or Courage, or Juſtice to the Publick, or of Honour and Bravery, that was. So that methinks the Philoſophers did not define Love ill, to be *the ſervice of the Gods, in aſſiſting and preſerving Youth*; for the Love of *Ariadne*, above all, ſeems to be the proper Work and Deſign of ſome God, in order to preſerve *Theſeus*: and indeed we ought not to blame her for loving him, but rather wonder all Men and Women were not alike affected

affected towards him; and if She alone were ſo, truly I dare pronounce her worthy of the Love of a God, who was herſelf ſo great a Lover of Virtue and Goodneſs, and the braveſt Man.

But Both theſe naturally affecting Government, Neither liv'd up to the true Character of a King, but flew off, and ran, One into Popularity, the Other into Tyranny, falling Both into the ſame fault out of different Paſſions: For a Prince's firſt Concern ought to be the Preſervation of the Government itſelf, which is done no leſs by avoiding Indecencies, than by maintaining a Decorum in all things: Whoever is either too remiſs or too ſtrict in This, is no more a King or a Prince, but either too popular a Man, or too lordly, and ſo becomes either odious or contemptible to his Subjects. This ſeems to be the Fault of Eaſineſs and Good-nature, the Other of Pride and Severity: But if we muſt not in all reſpects impute Misfortunes to the Fates, but conſider in them the difference of Mens Manners and Paſſions, as the unreaſonable and inconſiderate Effects of Wrath and Anger; a Man can neither excuſe One in his Behaviour to his Brother, nor the Other to his Son. But that which firſt gave occaſion to the Motion of this Paſſion renders Him more excuſable who was tranſported by a ſtronger Cauſe, as by a more ſevere Stroke. Thus *Romulus* having diſagreed with his Brother, adviſedly and deliberately upon the Concerns of the Publick, one would think, he could not of the ſudden have been put into ſo great a Paſſion; but Love, and Jealouſy, and the Complaints of his Wife (which few Men can avoid being provoked with) ſeduced *Theſeus* to commit that Outrage upon his Son. And what is more, *Romulus* in his Anger committed an Action of moſt unfortunate conſequence; but That of *Theſeus* ended only in words, ſome evil-ſpeaking, and an old Man's Curſes; the reſt of the Youth's Miſery ſeems to have proceeded from Fortune. So that ſo far a Man would give his Vote on *Theſeus*'s Part. But then the Other has firſt of all this great advantage,

advantage, that his Performances proceeded from very ſmall Beginnings; for both the Brothers being thought Servants, and the Sons of Swine-herds, before they were Free-men themſelves, they gave Liberty to almoſt all the *Latins*, obtaining at once all the moſt honourable Titles, as Deſtroyers of their Country's Enemies, Preſervers of their Friends and Kindred, Princes of the People, Founders of Cities, and not only Removers of them, ſuch as *Theſeus* was, who put together and built one place of Habitation out of Many, demoliſhing many Cities which bore the Names of ancient Kings and Heroes. 'Tis true, *Romulus* did the ſame afterwards, forcing his Enemies to deface and ruin their own Dwellings, and to ſojourn with their Conquerors; but at firſt he did not remove or increaſe a City that was before, but built one intirely from the ground; acquiring likewiſe to himſelf, Lands, a Country, a Kingdom, Wives, Children, and Relations, he kill'd or deſtroy'd no body, but encouraged Thoſe that wanted Houſes and Dwelling-places, if willing, to be of a Society, and become Citizens: Robbers and Malefactors he ſlew not, but he ſubdued Nations, he overthrew Cities, he triumphed over Kings and Princes. And as to the buſineſs of *Remus*, it is doubtful by whoſe Hand he was cut off; it is generally imputed to Others: His Mother he apparently retriev'd from Death, and placed his Grandfather, who was brought under baſe and diſhonourable Vaſſalage, in the ancient Throne of *Æneas*; and he voluntarily did him many good Offices, but never annoyed him, no not even through Ignorance or Inadvertency. But *Theſeus*, in his Forgetfulneſs and Inadvertency of the Command concerning the Flag, can ſcarcely methinks by any Excuſes, or before the moſt eaſy Judges, avoid the Imputation of Parricide; which a certain *Athenian*, perceiving it very hard to make an Excuſe for, feigns that *Ægeus*, at the arrival of the Ship, running haſtily to a Tower to ſee what News, ſlip'd and fell down, either for want of accidental Help, or that no Servants attended him in that haſte to the Sea-ſide.

Sea-ſide. And then again, thoſe Faults committed in the Rapes of Women, admit of no plauſible Excuſe in *Theſeus*: Firſt, in regard to the often repetition of the Crime; (for he ſtole *Ariadne*, *Antiope*, *Anaxo* the *Træzenian*, at laſt *Helena*, when he was an Old Man, and ſhe not marriageable, being too young and tender, and he at an Age paſt even the thoughts of lawful Wedlock.) Then in regard to the Cauſe; for the *Træzenian*, *Lacedæmonian*, and *Amazonian* Virgins, beſide that they were not betrothed to him, were not worthier to raiſe Children by, than the *Athenians*, who were derived from *Erectheus* and *Cecrops*; but it is to be ſuſpected, theſe things were done out of Inſolence, and to gratify wanton Pleaſure. Whereas *Romulus*, when he had ſeized near eight hundred Women, he took not All, but only *Herſilia* (as they ſay) for himſelf, and the reſt he divided among the chief of the City: and afterwards, by the reſpect, and tenderneſs, and juſtice ſhewn towards them, he diſcover'd, that this Violence and Injury was a moſt commendable and politick Exploit, to eſtabliſh a Society; by which he intermix'd and united both Nations, and made it the Fountain of all after-Friendſhip, and of Power with them. And as for [that Chaſtity or] Reverence, and Love, and Conſtancy in Matrimony, which he eſtabliſhed, Time can witneſs: For in 230 Years, neither durſt any Husband deſert his Wife, nor any Wife her Husband; but as the moſt curious among the *Grecians* can tell you the firſt Man that killed either Father or Mother, ſo the *Romans* all well know, *Spurius Carvilius* was the firſt who put away his Wife, accuſing her of Barrenneſs. And upon thoſe Marriages, the two Princes ſhar'd in the Dominion, and both Nations fell under the ſame Government. But from the Marriages of *Theſeus* proceeded nothing, among the *Athenians*, of Friendſhip or Correſpondence for the advantage of Commerce, but Enmities and Wars, and the Slaughter of Citizens, and at laſt the loſs of the City *Aphidnæ*; where, only out of the Compaſſion of the

Enemy, whom they intreated and careſſed like Gods, they but juſt miſs'd ſuffering what *Troy* did by *Paris*. *Theſeus* his Mother was not only in danger, but ſuffer'd alſo what *Hecuba* did, in being deſerted and abandoned by her Son; if that of her Captivity be not a Fiction, as I could wiſh both That and moſt other things of him were. What is fabulouſly related concerning both their Divinity, you will find a great difference in it: for *Romulus* was preſerved by the ſpecial Favour of the Gods; but the Oracle given to *Ægeus*, commanding him to abſtain from all ſtrange and foreign Women, ſeems to demonſtrate, that the Birth of *Theſeus* was not agreeable to the Will of the Gods.

THE

THE LIFE OF *LYCURGUS.*

THERE is ſo much Incertainty in the accounts which Hiſtorians have left us of *Lycurgus*, the Lawgiver of *Sparta*, that ſcarcely any thing is aſſerted by One of them, which is not call'd into queſtion or contradicted by the Reſt. Their Sentiments are quite different as to the Family he came of, the Voyages he undertook, the place and manner of his Death, but moſt of all when they ſpeak of the Laws he made, and the Commonwealth which he founded. They cannot by any means be brought to an agreement as to the very Age in which this excellent Perſon liv'd, for ſome of them ſay that he flouriſhed in the time of *Iphitus*, and that they two jointly contriv'd the Ordinance for the Ceſſation of Arms during the Solemnity of the *Olympick* Games. Of this Opinion was *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher, and for Confirmation of it he alledges an In-

ſcription upon one of the Copper Coits uſed in thoſe Sports, upon which the Name of *Lycurgus* continued undefac'd to his time. But others, as *Eratoſthenes* and *Apollodorus*, two learned Chronologers, tracing back the time by the Succeſſions of the *Spartan* Kings, pretend to demonſtrate that he was much more ancient than the very firſt *Olympiad*. *Timæus* conjectures that there were two of his Name, and in divers times; but that the One of them being much more famous than the Other, Men gave to Him the Glory of the Exploits of Both: The Elder of the Two, according to Him, was not long after *Homer*, and Some are ſo particular as even to ſay that he had ſeen *Homer*. But that he was of great Antiquity may be gathered from a paſſage in (1) *Xenophon*, where he makes him contemporary with the *Heraclidæ*; not but that the very laſt Kings of *Sparta* were *Heraclidæ* too: but he ſeems in that place to call Thoſe *Heraclidæ* who were the firſt, and more immediate Succeſſors of *Hercules*. But notwithſtanding this confuſion and obſcurity of Writers who have gone before us in this Subject, we ſhall endeavour to compoſe the Hiſtory of his (2) Life, ſetting down thoſe paſſages which are leaſt contradicted, and following thoſe Authors who are moſt worthy of Credit.

(1) Lib. de *Laced.* Rep.

The Poet *Simonides* will needs have it that *Lycurgus* was the Son of *Prytanis*, and not of *Eunomus*; but in this Opinion he is ſingular, for all the reſt deduce the Genealogy of them both as follows.

Ariſtodemus, *Patrocles*, *Soüs*, *Eurytion*, } { *Prytanis*, *Eunomus*, who by his firſt Wife had a Son nam'd *Polydectes*, and by his ſecond Wife, *Dianaſſa*, had this *Lycurgus*, whoſe

(2) *This was the firſt Life that* Plutarch *publiſh'd, and he ſeems to have a particular reſpect to this People, by writing a Book of their wiſe Sayings.*

whoſe Life is before us; but as *Eutychidas* ſays, he was the Sixth from *Patrocles*, and the Eleventh from *Hercules*. Be this as it will, *Soüs* certainly was the moſt renown'd of all his Anceſtors, under whoſe Conduct the *Spartans* ſubdu'd and made Slaves of the *Ilotes*, and added to their Dominions a good part of the Country which they wreſted from the *Arcadians*. There goes a Story of this King *Soüs*, that being beſieged by the *Clitorians* in a dry and ſtony place, ſo that he could come at no Water, he was at laſt conſtrained to agree with them upon theſe hard terms, That he would reſtore to them all his Conqueſts, provided that himſelf and *all his Men* ſhould drink of a Spring not far diſtant from his Camp. After the uſual Oaths and Ratifications, he call'd his Soldiers together, and offer'd to Him that would forbear Drinking, his Kingdom for a reward. [Their Thirſt was ſo much ſtronger than their Ambition, that] not a Man of them was able to forbear. In ſhort, when they had all drank their fill, at laſt comes King *Soüs* himſelf to the Spring, and, having ſprinkled his Face only, without ſwallowing one drop, he march'd off in the Face of his Enemies, refuſing to yield up his Conqueſts, becauſe himſelf, and *all his Men* (according to the Articles) had not drank of their Water.

Altho' he was juſtly had in Admiration by his Subjects upon this account, yet was not his Family ſirnamed from him, but from his Son *Eurytion*, of whom they were call'd *Eurytionides*: the reaſon of This was, that *Eurytion* took a courſe never practis'd by his Predeceſſors, which was to flatter and cajole his own Subjects, by ſlackening the Reins of the Royal Authority. But the People, inſtead of growing more tractable by this remiſſneſs, waxed bolder in their Encroachments; and the ſucceeding Princes being partly become odious by uſing Force upon the People; and partly, either from good Nature or out of Weakneſs brought to yield too much; the whole Kingdom of *Sparta* continued in Anarchy and Confuſion for a long time: This, amongſt its other Tragical Effects, cauſed the Death of the then King

who was the Father of *Lycurgus*, for as he was endeavouring to quell a Riot in which the Parties were come to Blows, he was among them moſt barbarouſly (3) butcher'd; and left the Title of King to his eldeſt Son *Polydectes*: but He too dying ſoon after, the Right of Succeſſion (as every one thought) reſted in *Lycurgus*; and reign he did, until it was known that the Queen, his Sifter-in-law, was with Child. But as ſoon as ever he had notice of This he immediately declar'd that the Kingdom belong'd to her Iſſue, provided it were Male, and he himſelf exerciſed the Regal Juriſdiction only as his Guardian. Such Guardians of infant Kings the *Lacedæmonians* call Προδίκοι [or Protectors.] Soon after an Overture was made to him by the Queen, that ſhe would make herſelf miſcarry, or ſome way deſtroy That ſhe went with, upon Condition that he would marry her when he came to the Crown. Tho' he was extremely incens'd againſt the Woman for this unnatural Propoſal, yet wiſely ſmothering his Reſentments, and making ſhew of cloſing with her, he diſpatch'd the Meſſenger with a world of Thanks, and expreſſions of Joy; but withal diſſuaded her earneſtly from procuring herſelf to miſcarry, becauſe that the violent means uſed in ſuch caſes would impair her Health, if not endanger her Life: Withal aſſuring her, that Himſelf would ſo order it, that the Child, as ſoon as born, ſhould be taken *out of the way*. By Theſe, and ſuch like Artifices, having drawn on the Woman to the time of her Lying-in, as ſoon as ever he heard that ſhe was in Labour, he ſent ſome of his Council to be by and obſerve all that paſt, with order, that if it were a Girl they ſhould deliver it to the Women, but if a Boy, that they ſhould bring it to Him whereſoever he were, and whatſoever a doing. It ſo fell out, that as he was at Supper with his Principal Magiſtrates, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Boy who was ſoon after preſented to him as he was at the Table: he, taking him tenderly into his Arms, ſaid to thoſe

(3) μαγειρικῇ κοπίδι πληγεὶς, *ſtab'd with a Cook's Knife.*

thoſe about him, Behold, my Lords of *Sparta*, here is a King born unto us. This ſaid, he laid him down upon the Chair of State, and nam'd him *Charilaus*; that is, *the Joy of the People*; becauſe they were all ſo much tranſported with Joy, being ſtruck with Admiration upon contemplating the Noble Mind and Juſtice of *Lycurgus*: And yet his Reign laſted only eight Months. But he was in other reſpects a Prince highly reſpected by his Citizens, and there were more who obeyed him, and were ready to do what he commanded, upon the account of his eminent Virtues, than becauſe he was Guardian to the King, and had the Royal Authority depoſited in his Hands. Yet could not all this *enſure* him from Envy, which made a puſh at him (as is uſual) before he was well ſettled in his high Truſt: The Heads of this Faction were the Kindred and Creatures of the Queen-Mother, who pretended not to have been dealt with ſuitably to her Quality; and her Brother *Leonidas*, in a warm debate which fell out betwixt him and *Lycurgus*, went ſo far as to tell him to his Face, *that he was very well aſſured that ere-long he ſhould ſee him King*. By this [reflecting Inſinuation] he endeavour'd to make the People jealous, and prepared the way for a future Accuſation of *Lycurgus*, as tho' he had made away with his Nephew, if he ſhould chance to fail, tho' by a natural Death. Words of the like Import were deſignedly caſt abroad by the Queen-Mother, and her Adherents.

Being exceedingly troubled at This, and fearing the Conſequence, as not knowing what it might come to, he thought it his wiſeſt Courſe to decline their Jealouſy by a voluntary Exile, and ſo travel from place to place until his Nephew came to marriageable Years, and by having a Son had ſecured the Succeſſion. Setting Sail therefore with this Reſolution, he firſt arrived at *Crete*, where having conſidered their ſeveral Forms of Government, and got an Acquaintance with the principal Men among them, Some of their Laws he very much approv'd of, and reſolv'd to make uſe of them in his own Country, and Others he rejected as uſeleſs. Amongſt the

the Perſons there, the moſt renown'd for their Ability and Wiſdom in State Matters, was one *Thales*, whom *Lycurgus*, by repeated Importunities, and Aſſurances of Friendſhip, at laſt perſuaded to go over to *Lacedæmon*. When he came thither, by his outward Appearance and Character which he took upon him, he ſeem'd no other than a Lyrick Poet, but in reality he perform'd the part of one of the ableſt Lawgivers in the World: The very Songs which he compos'd were pathetical Exhortations to Obedience and Concord: The ſweetneſs of the Meaſures, and the cadence of the Verſe, ſuiting with the Subject, both ſerious and delightful, had ſo great an influence on their Minds, that they were inſenſibly ſoftned and civiliz'd; inſomuch that at laſt they renounced their mutual Feuds and Animoſities, which had kept them ſo long at Variance to their unſpeakable Diſadvantage, and re-united themſelves into a chearful and unanimous concurrence for the publick welfare: ſo that it may truly be ſaid that *Thales* prepared the way for *Lycurgus*, by removing the rubbiſh and clearing the ground-plot, that he might raiſe upon it the laſting Fabrick of that glorious Commonwealth.

From *Crete* he ſailed to *Aſia*, with deſign (as is ſaid) that by comparing the *Cretan*'s way of living, which was very frugal and auſtere, with that of the *Ionians* which was very expenſive and luxurious, he might the better judge of the difference of their ſeveral Manners and form of Government: as Phyſicians, by the oppoſition they find betwixt a healthful and ſickly body, are enabled to diſtinguiſh the ſwelling of a Dropſy from a good and thriving habit, and a real Health from that which only appears to be ſo. Here in all likelihood he had the firſt ſight of *Homer*'s Works, which were preſerved in all probability by the poſterity of *Cleophylus*; and having obſerv'd that the few looſe expreſſions and actions of ill example which are to be found in his Poems, were very much out-weigh'd by thoſe grave Maxims of State and Rules of Morality (which are frequently couch'd

couch'd under thoſe very Fictions) he ſet himſelf eagerly to tranſcribe and collect them together intire, with a deſign to bring them home to his own Country: For before this time there were ſome obſcure reports of theſe Poetical Works in *Greece*, but yet only ſome particular pieces were in a few private hands. The whole Poem being confuſedly ſcattered about in fragments. But *Lycurgus* [to his honour] was the firſt who brought it entire into general reputation.

The *Ægyptians* likewiſe ſay that he took a Voyage into *Ægypt*, and that, being much taken with their way of ſeparating the Soldiery from their Handicrafts and Mechanicks, he reſolv'd to imitate them at *Lacedæmon:* and this diſtinction of their Profeſſions, as it prevented *Confuſion*, it increaſed their *Strength*, and cauſing *Regularity*, added *Beauty* to the State. This Story of the *Ægyptians* is confirmed by ſome of the *Greek* Hiſtorians alſo. But as for his Voyages into *Spain*, *Africk*, and the *Indies*, and his Conferences there with the *Gymnoſophiſts*, the whole Relation (as far as I can find) reſts on the ſingle Credit of *Ariſtocrates*, the Son of *Hipparchus*.

During the Abſence of *Lycurgus*, tho' he was cheaply parted with, he was dearly miſs'd at *Lacedæmon*, and a great many Embaſſies were ſent to pray his Return: for Kings indeed we have (ſaid they) who wear the Marks and aſſume the Titles of Royalty, but as for the inward Qualities of their Minds, they have nothing by which they are to be diſtinguiſh'd from their Subjects; adding, that in Him alone was the true foundation of Sovereignty to be ſeen, a Nature made to rule, and a *Genius* of that ſtrength, that it made him at the ſame time *lov'd* and *reverenced* by the People. Nor were the Kings themſelves averſe to his return, for they look'd upon his Preſence as a Bulwark for them againſt the growing Inſolencies of the People.

Things being in this poſture at his return, he applied himſelf, without loſs of time, to a thorough Reformation,

formation, and reſolv'd to change the whole face of the Commonwealth: For what could a few particular Laws and a partial Alteration avail, when there was an univerſal Corruption of all Orders and Degrees of Men in the State? He took therefore the courſe wiſe Phyſicians uſe, when they have to do with One who labours under a complication of Diſeaſes; they are not content to obviate One or Two of them, but follow him with Purges and Bleeding until they have quite drained him of his peccant humors, and exhauſted the corrupt maſs of his Blood: This done, they reſtore him by degrees, and preſcribe a Regimen of Diet quite contrary to the former. [The Reader will eaſily make the Application.] Having thus projected things, away he goes to *Delphi* to conſult *Apollo*; which having done and offer'd his Sacrifice he return'd with that renowned Oracle, in which the Propheteſs called him *Beloved of God, and rather God than Man:* and told him, That as to his requeſt about the Settlement of Good Laws, *Apollo* granted it, and promiſed to make the Commonwealth which obſerved them the moſt famous in the World. Encouraged by theſe things, he ſet himſelf to bring over to his ſide the leading Men of *Sparta*, exhorting them to give him a helping hand in this great undertaking. He broke it firſt to his particular friends, and then by degrees he gained Others; at laſt he animated them all together to put his deſign in execution. When things were ripe for action, he gave order to thirty of the Principal men of *Sparta* to be ready arm'd at the Market-place by break of the day, to the end that he might ſtrike a terror into the oppoſite party: *Hermippus* hath ſet down the names of twenty of the moſt eminent of them; but the name of him whom *Lycurgus* moſt confided in, and who was of moſt uſe to him, both in making his Laws, and putting them in execution, was *Arithmiadas*. Things growing to a tumult, King *Charilaus* apprehending that it was a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon, took Sanctuary in

in the Temple of *Minerva* the (4) Protectreſs. Being ſoon after undeceived, and put in heart again, and having taken an Oath of them that they had no treaſonable deſigns, he quitted his Refuge, and himſelf alſo entred into the confederacy with them: Of ſo gentle and flexible a diſpoſition he was, to which, *Archelaus*, his Partner in the Government, alluded; when hearing him highly extoll'd for his Goodneſs, he ſaid, How can *Charilaus* be otherwiſe than a gracious Prince, who cannot be ſevere even to the worſt of men?

Amongſt the many changes and alterations which *Lycurgus* made, the firſt and of greateſt importance was the eſtabliſhment of the Senate, which having a power equal to the Kings in matters of great conſequence, did (as *Plato* expreſſes it) with its phlegm allay and qualify the hot complexion of a Monarchy, and always both preſerve the State of the Commonwealth, and kept it in *good temper*. For the State which before had no firm Baſis to ſtand upon, but lean'd one while towards an abſolute Monarchy (when the Kings had the upper hand) and another while towards a pure Democracy (when the People had the better of it) finding in this Eſtabliſhment of the Senate a counterpoiſe, which always keeping things in a juſt *æquilibrium*, preſerved a firm order and ſettlement. For the Twenty Eight always adher'd to the Kings, ſo far as to oppoſe a Democracy, and on the other ſide aſſiſted the People to prevent Tyranny. As for the determinate number of Twenty Eight, *Ariſtotle* is of opinion that it ſo fell out, becauſe being Thirty at Firſt, with *Lycurgus*, two of the Aſſociates for want of Courage fell off from the Enterpriſe; but *Sphærus* aſſures us that there were but Twenty-eight of Thoſe who were privy to the deſign at firſt. Perhaps there is ſome Myſtery in the number which conſiſts of Seven multiply'd by Four,

(4) Χαλκίοικος, *ſo called becauſe her Temple was of Braſs: and was alſo called* Πολιοῦχος *or Protectreſs as* Pauſanias *ſays.*

and

and is the first of perfect numbers after Six, being, as that is, equal to its sides. For my part, I cannot believe that *Lycurgus* had any such Niceties in his Head, but pitch'd upon the number of Twenty-eight Senators, that, the two Kings being reckoned amongst them, they might be Thirty in all. So eagerly set was *Lycurgus* upon this Establishment invented by himself, that he took a Journey to *Delphi* to credit it by the Approbation of the Oracle, who gave him the Famous *Rhetra*, or fundamental Statute, which runs thus. *After that you have built a Temple to* Jupiter *the* Syllanian, *and to* Minerva *the* Syllanian, *and after you have divided the People into Tribes and Classes, you shall establish a Council of thirty Senators, in the number of which the two Kings shall be comprizd; and shall from time to time call the People to an Assembly betwixt* Babyca *and* Cnacion, *where the Senate shall propound things to the Commons,* (5) *who shall* [*not have Power to debate upon their Proposals, but only to*] *give or refuse their Assent: and it shall be in the Power of the Senate to dissolve the Assembly.* For thus he attributed the very ground and foundation of his political Institution to *Apollo*. *Babyca* and *Cnacion* are now called *Oenus*, though *Aristotle* calls *Cnacion* a River and *Babica* a Bridge, and between these their Assemblies were held, for they had no spacious Council-house richly hung and furnished to receive them in: for *Lycurgus* was of Opinion that such Theatrical Ornaments were so far from advantaging them in their Counsels, that they were rather an hindrance, by diverting their Attention from the business before them, to gape upon the Statues and Pictures, and Roofs curiously fretted, the usual embellishments of such places amongst the other *Græcians*. The People then being thus assembled in the open air, it was not allowed to any one of their Order to give his Advice, but only

(5) *The words in the Original are corrupted and therefore obscure, but this seems to be the Sense of them, as appears from what follows.*

either

either to ratify or reject what ſhould be propounded to them by the Kings or Senate. But becauſe it fell out afterwards that the People made gloſſes and explanations of Laws contrary to the intent of the Kings and Senate, and ſometimes too by adding or omitting whole Sentences, perverted the ſenſe, the Kings *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* (to be even with them in their own kind) inſerted into the *Rhetra* or grand Decretal the following Clauſe; *That if the People ſhould offer any croſs propoſal to be paſſed then the Senate and Kings ſhould reject it:* That is, ſhould not confirm it, but abſolutely retire and diſſolve the Aſſembly of the People, for thus offering to pervert and deprave the Senſe of the Law. This buſineſs was ſo dextrouſly managed, that it paſs'd among the People for as divine a precept as the reſt of the *Rhetra*, as appears by theſe Verſes of *Tyrtæus*:

If, Spartans, *ye deſire that Heav'n ſhould bleſs*
Your New-born State with laſting Happineſs,
Hear what Apollo's *Oracle commands:*
Jove *puts the Scepter into Princes hands.*
Let them Command; let Senators debate
The deep Affairs, and intereſts of State:
Hear ye, and give aſſent, and reverence pay,
And know, 'tis Subjects privilege——*to obey.*

Altho' *Lycurgus* had in this manner us'd all the qualifications poſſible in the Government of his Commonwealth, yet Thoſe who ſucceeded him thought that the ſmallneſs of the number of which the Senate conſiſted, made them ſomewhat imperious and preſſing, and therefore (as *Plato* ſays) they put a bridle upon them, which was the power of the *Ephori*, eſtabliſh'd a hundred and thirty years after the death of *Lycurgus*. *Elatus* was the firſt who had this Dignity confer'd upon him, in the Reign of King *Theopompus*, whom when his Queen upbraided one day, that he would leave the regal Power to his Children leſs than himſelf had received it from his Anceſtors, he told her that ſhe was much miſtaken,

for he ſhould leave it ſo much greater than he found it, by how much it was more likely to laſt. For indeed the Prerogative being thus kept within ſome reaſonable bounds, was at once freed from the envy, and ſecur'd from the danger, to which an unlimited Juriſdiction lies expoſed. So that the *Spartan* Kings fared much better after it, than their Neighbours at *Meſſene* and *Argos*; who by ſcrewing their Prerogative too high, crack'd it, and for want of yielding a Little to the Populacy, loſt All.

Indeed, whoſoever ſhall take a proſpect of the Seditions and Civil Wars which befel theſe bordering Nations, (to whom they were as nearly related in blood as ſituation) will find good reaſon to admire the profound wiſdom and providence of *Lycurgus*; for theſe three States in their firſt Riſe were equal, or, if there were any odds, they lay on the ſide of the *Meſſenians* and *Argives*, who in the diviſion of their Country were more fortunate than the *Spartans*: yet was their flouriſh but of ſmall continuance, ſoon falling into confuſion, partly by the tyrannical diſpoſition of their Kings, and partly by the ungovernableneſs of the people: which makes it appear to the whole world, that it was one of the greateſt Bleſſings which Heaven could ſend down upon the *Spartans*, to give them ſo wiſe a Lawgiver, who could ſo exquiſitely frame and temper the Conſtitution of their Commonwealth. But of this I ſhall ſay more in its due place.

After the Creation of the thirty Senators, his next task, and indeed the moſt hazardous he ever undertook, was the making a new diviſion of their Lands. For there was a very ſtrange inequality among the Inhabitants of *Sparta*, ſo that the City was ſurcharged with a multitude of beggarly and neceſſitous perſons, whilſt the Lands and Money were engroſſed by a Few: therefore to the end that he might baniſh out of the State Luxury and Arrogance, (the vices of the Rich) and Envy and Knavery, (the uſual faults of the poor) and the ſource of all theſe Miſchiefs, Want and Avarice,

he

he obtained of them to renounce their properties, as it were reducing the whole Country to a Common Stock, and to conſent to a new diviſion of the Land; that they ſhould live all with the equality and friendlineſs of Co-heirs and Brothers; and allow the Preeminence to Virtue only, as if there were no other difference or inequality between one Man and another, but what the diſgrace of doing baſe Actions, or Credit of doing worthily, created.

Having got their conſent to his Propoſals, he immediately put them in execution: and having exactly ſurvey'd the whole Country of *Laconia*, he divided it into thirty thouſand equal ſhares, and the Liberties of the City of *Sparta* into nine thouſand; and Theſe he diſtributed to the Inhabitants of the City, as he did the Others to Them who dwelt in the Country. Some Authors ſay that he made but ſix thouſand lots for the Citizens of *Sparta*, and that King *Polydore* added three thouſand more. Others ſay that *Polydore* doubled the number *Lycurgus* had made, which (according to them) was but four thouſand five hundred. A Lot was ſo much as to yield one year with another about ſeventy (6) Buſhels of Grain for the Maſter of the Family, and twelve for his Wife, with a ſuitable proportion of (7) liquid fruits. And This was thought ſufficient to keep their bodies in good health and luſty, and they had no occaſion for ſuperfluities. It is reported, that as he returned from a Journey ſome time after the diviſion of the Lands, in harveſt time, the ground being newly reap'd, obſerving the Sheaves to be all equal, and the Shocks of the ſame bigneſs, he ſmilingly ſaid to Thoſe about him, *Methinks* Lacedæmon *is like the Inheritance of a great many Brothers, which have newly made a diviſion among themſelves.*

(6) μεδίμνος, *a Meaſure containing almoſt ſix Pecks* Engliſh.

(7) i. e. *ſuch as produce Oil and Wine* &c.

Not contented with This, he reſolv'd to make a diviſion of their Moveables too, that there might be no odious diſtinction or inequality left amongſt them; but finding that it would be very difficult to make them part with what they had directly, He took another Courſe, and got the better of their eager deſires for ſuch things by this Stratagem. Firſt he commanded that all Gold and Silver Coin ſhould be cry'd down, and that only a ſort of Money made of Iron ſhould be current, whereof a great weight and quantity was but very little worth: So that to lay up twenty or thirty Pounds, there was requir'd a pretty large Chamber, and to remove it, nothing leſs than a Yoke of Oxen. By this Invention it is ſcarcely to be imagin'd how many execrable Vices were baniſh'd *Lacedæmon*: For who would rob another of ſuch a ſcurvy ſort of Coin? Who would unjuſtly detain it? Who would cheat and circumvent, be brib'd, or turn Knight of the Poſt to compaſs it? when it was not eaſy to be hid when a Man had it, nor brought a Man any credit in the World by the Poſſeſſion of it, nor could turn to any account when you had cut it in pieces; for when it was red hot, and juſt ſtamp'd, they quench'd the Edges in Vinegar, and by that means made it unfit for any other uſe, as being almoſt unmalleable by its hardneſs.

In the next place he baniſh'd all uſeleſs Arts, and Such as were not abſolutely neceſſary: but here he might almoſt have ſpar'd his Precaution; for many of them would without any Compulſion have gone after the Gold and Silver; the money which remain'd being not ſo proper payment for curious Pieces: for being of Iron it was ſcarcely portable, neither if they ſhould take ſo much pains as to export it, would it paſs among the other *Græcians*, who were ſo far from valuing it, that they thought it one of the moſt ridiculous things in the world. Thus there was no ſuch thing as trafficking in any foreign wares or toys, neither did any Merchants think it worth their while to bring in

their

their Goods to any of their Ports: Nor was any part of *Laconia* peſter'd with any *pedantical* Teachers of Rhetorick, with Gypſies, Fortune-tellers, and Calculators of Nativities; no pimping corrupters of Youth brought their Ladies of pleaſure, or their Boys to be unnaturally abus'd there; no Goldſmiths, and Engravers, or Jewellers, were to be found amongſt them, *for there was no Money:* So that Luxury being by degrees depriv'd of that which fed and fomented it, was quite ſtarv'd out, and died away of itſelf. For the Rich had no preeminence here over the Poor, and their Riches and Abundance, having no opportunity of appearing and boaſting of themſelves in publick, were forced to remain uſeleſs at home, a *coſtly prey* to the Ruſt and the Moth. Their thoughts being thus taken off from things ſuperfluous, they became excellent Artiſts in Thoſe which were neceſſary; ſo that Bedſteads, Chairs and Tables, and ſuch like ſtaple Utenſils in a Family, were admirably well made there; particularly the *Laconick* (8) Cup was very much in faſhion, and bought up by Soldiers, as *Critias* reports: for the colour and thickneſs of the Cup hindred the muddineſs of the dirty water (which, though ſhocking to the ſight, yet muſt upon Marches often be drank) from being perceived; and the Figure of it was ſuch, that the Mud ſank to the bottom, and was ſtopt by the (9) ſwelling of the Sides, ſo that only the pureſt part of the Water came to the Mouth of him that drank it. And this skill of theirs was mainly owing to their Lawgiver, by whom the minds of the Artiſans being diſengaged from any thing uſeleſs or unneceſſary, were at leiſure to ſhew their utmoſt skill in thoſe things which were of daily and indiſpenſable uſe.

(8) κώθων.

(9) τοῖς ἄμ-ϐωσι.

The third and moſt maſterly ſtroke of this excellent Politician, by which he ſtruck at the very roots of Luxury, and exterminated utterly the deſire of Riches,

(1) συσσιτίαν. was the Inſtitution of (1) publick Tables, that they ſhould all eat in common, of the ſame meat, and of ſuch kinds as were ſpecify'd in the Decree: by which it was expreſly forbid to pamper themſelves in private, to uſe rich Couches, and magnificent Tables, abuſing the labours of excellent Workmen, and *delivering* themſelves up into the hands of their Butchers and Cooks, who us'd to *cram* them in Corners, as they fatted up the *Beaſts* and the *Poultry* they fed on: By which way of life their Manners were not only corrupted, but their Bodies too were enfeebled; ſo that giving the rein to their ſenſual Appetites, they ſtood in need of long ſleep, and hot *Bagnio's*, and, in a word, of as much Care and Attendance as if they were continually *Sick*. It was certainly an extraordinary thing to have brought about ſuch an Enterpriſe as This, but a greater yet to have effected, by this Eating in Common and uſing a very frugal diet, that their riches ſhould be privileg'd from the hands of rapine, nay rather (as *Theophraſtus* obſerves) ſhould be utterly degraded, (2) loſing their property, and almoſt their very nature, ſo that they no longer were the objects of envy. For the rich being oblig'd to partake of the ſame fare with the poor, they could not make uſe of, or enjoy their choice viands, nor ſo much as pleaſe their vain humours, by making a ſhew and vaunting of them to the World. So that the common Proverb, that *Plutus* (the God of riches) is blind, was no where ſo literally verify'd as in *Sparta*: for there he was kept continually *blind*, or rather like a meer image, ſenſeleſs and motionleſs, [as when he lay *wrapt* up in the dark *entrails* of the Earth.] Nor could they take any refection in private before they came to the publick Halls; for every one had an eye upon thoſe who did not eat and drink with a good ſtomach, and reproached them with the name of *dainty* and *effeminate*.

(2) Πλοῦτος ἄπλουτος.

This

This laſt Ordinance bore very hard upon the wealthier ſort of Men, ſo that being out of all patience they made an inſurrection againſt *Lycurgus*, and from ill words came to blows; ſo that at length he was forced to run out of the Aſſembly, and make to the Sanctuary to ſave his Life. By good hap he got before all the reſt, excepting one *Alcander*, (a young Gentleman otherwiſe not ill accompliſh'd, but too haſty and cholerick) who came up ſo cloſe to him, as that, whilſt he turn'd himſelf about to ſee who was near him, he ſtruck him upon the Face, and beat out one of his Eyes. The incomparable *Philoſopher* was ſo far from being daunted and diſcouraged by this Accident, that he ſtopt ſhort, and ſhew'd his reverend Face all in a gore Blood to his ungrateful Countrymen: They were ſo ſtrangely ſurpris'd and aſham'd to ſee it, that they immediately begg'd Pardon, offer'd him any ſort of reparation, and deliver'd *Alcander* into his hands, to be puniſh'd as he ſhould think fit, conducting him home with the greateſt concern for this ill uſage. *Lycurgus*, having thank'd them for their care of his Perſon, diſmiſs'd them all, excepting only *Alcander*: Taking him with him into his Houſe, he neither did nor ſaid any thing ſeverely to him, but diſmiſſing Thoſe whoſe place it was, he order'd *Alcander* to wait upon him at Table; the young Man, who was not ill bred, without murmuring or repining did as he was commanded. Being thus near him, he had opportunity to obſerve in him (beſides the natural goodneſs and mildneſs of his Temper) an extraordinary Sobriety in his Diet, and a ſtrength of Complexion proceeding from it, which no Labours and Fatigues were able to ſurmount. He was ſo raviſh'd with Admiration of theſe excellent Qualities, that of an Enemy he became one of his moſt zealous Admirers, and told his Friends and Relations that *Lycurgus* was not that *moroſe* and *ill-natur'd* Man whom they had formerly took him for, but of the ſweeteſt and moſt *Gentleman-like* Diſpoſition in the World. And thus did *Lycurgus*, (for

Chaſtiſe-

Chaſtiſement of his fault) make of a wild and diſſolute young Man, one of the diſcreeteſt Citizens of *Sparta*.

In memory of this accident *Lycurgus* built a Temple to *Minerva*, ſurnamed *Optilete*, from (3) ὀπτίλας. a (3) Word which in the *Dorick* Dialect, uſed in this Country, ſignifies the *Eyes*: For ſome Authors, of which *Dioſcorides* is one (who wrote a Treatiſe of the Commonwealth of *Sparta*) ſay, that he was wounded indeed, but did not loſe his Eye with the blow; and this was the cauſe of the Dedication of that Temple in gratitude for the Cure. Be this as it will, certain it is, that this miſadventure was the cauſe that the *Lacedæmonians* never bring any Arms, no not ſo much as a Staff, into their publick Aſſemblies.

But to return to their publick Repaſts which had ſeveral Names in *Greek*; for the *Cretans* call'd them Ἀνδρία (becauſe the Men only came to them:) The *Lacedæmonians* call'd them Φιδίτια, that is, (changing λ into δ, the ſame as Φιλίτια) Feaſts of Love, becauſe that by eating and drinking together they had opportunity of making Friends; or elſe (taking Φιδίτια, for Φειδιτία, from a Word which ſignifies Parſimony) becauſe they were ſo many Schools of Sobriety. To put in my own conjecture, perhaps they were, as Some ſay, ſimply call'd Ἐδίτια (Eating-Houſes) for ſuch the Word is by the ſubtraction of one Letter. They met by Companies of Fifteen, over or under, and each of them ſtood bound to bring in monthly a Buſhel of Meal, eight Gallons of Wine, five Pounds of Cheeſe, two Pounds and a half of Figs, for their deſſert, and a little Money to buy Fleſh and Fiſh withal. Beſides this, when any of them made Sacrifice to the Gods, they always ſent a Dole to the Common-hall; and likewiſe when any one of them had been a hunting, he ſent thither a part of the Veniſon he had kill'd; it was an allowable Excuſe for ſupping at home if a man had been ſacrificing or hunting, all others were bound to appear. This Cuſtom of eating together was obſerv'd ſtrictly for a great while afterwards; inſomuch that

that King *Agis* himſelf, having vanquiſh'd the *Athenians*, and ſending for his Commons at his return home, becauſe he deſir'd to eat privately with his Queen, was refuſed by the *Polemarchi*; which refuſal, when he reſented ſo much as to omit the Sacrifices of thankſgiving, which uſed to be made for a War happily ended, they were ſo far from asking his Pardon, that they ſet a Fine upon his Head, and obliged him to pay it.

They us'd to ſend their Children to theſe publick Tables, as to Schools of Temperance and good Huſbandry: Here they were inſtructed in State-affairs, not by mercenary *Pedants*, but by experienced *Stateſmen*: Here they learn'd the Art of Converſation, to *Droll* without *Reflecting*, and to make Jeſts at the coſt of no Man's Reputation; and withal to take a Jeſt with the ſame Innocence and Unconcernedneſs that they gave one. To bear a Jeſt was thought a Character exceedingly becoming a *Lacedæmonian*: But if any Man were out of humour, or was not of a nature to bear a Jeſt, upon the leaſt hint given there was no more to be ſaid to him: It was cuſtomary alſo for the eldeſt Man in the Company to tell each of them, as they came in, *Look ye, Sir, not a Word ſaid in Company muſt go out of this Door*, and withal he pointed to it. When any one had a deſire to be admitted into any of theſe little Societies, he was to go through this manner of probation: Each man of that company took a little ball of ſoft bread (a cuſtom much like that of *balloting* in other places) which they were to throw into a Pitcher, which a Waiter carried round upon his head: Thoſe that lik'd the perſon to be choſen drop'd their Ball into the Pitcher without altering the figure; and thoſe who diſliked him preſs'd it betwixt their fingers, and made it flat: and this ſignify'd as much as a *negative* voice; for if there were but one of theſe flatted pieces found in the Pitcher, the Suitor was rejected: ſo curious they were in the choice of their Company, and ſo tender

of

of diſguſting any one member in it, by taking in a Man unacceptable to him. He that was thus rejected was ſaid to be *decadded*, or *pitcher'd*, becauſe the veſſel into which they threw the little balls was called *Caddus*, or *Pitcher*.

Their principal Diſh was a ſort of black Broth, which was ſo much valued that the elderly ſort fed only upon That, leaving what fleſh there was to the Younger.

They ſay that a certain King of *Pontus*, having heard much of this black Broth of Theirs, ſent for a *Lacedæmonian* Cook on purpoſe to make him ſome; he had no ſooner taſted it but he found it was abominable: the Cook ſeeing him out of conceit with it, told him; *Sir, to make this Broth reliſh, you ſhould have bath'd yourſelf firſt in the River of* Eurotas.

Having eaten and drank thus moderately, every man went to his home without *lights*: for they were utterly forbidden to walk with a light either upon This or any other occaſion, to the end they might accuſtom themſelves to march boldly in the dark. And ſuch was the Order and Faſhion of their common Tables.

Lycurgus would never reduce his Laws into Writing; nay it is expreſſly forbid in one of thoſe called the *Rhetræ*: for he thought that the moſt material points, and ſuch as moſt directly tended to the publick Welfare, being *imprinted* on the Hearts of their Youth by a good Education, and by a conſtant and habitual Obſervance of them, becoming a *ſecond* Nature, would ſupply the place of a *Law* and Lawgiver in them all the reſt of their Lives; and as for things of leſſer importance, as pecuniary Contracts, and ſuch like, the forms of which ought to be chang'd as occaſion requires, and in tract of time become inſufficient for the ends they were intended for, he thought it the beſt way to leave them to every Man's Diſcretion, and to preſcribe no certain form at all. He left therefore no inviolable Cuſtom in ſuch Caſes,

Caſes, willing that the manner and form of bargaining ſhould be alter'd according to the circumſtances of Time, and determinations of Men who were well educated. For he laid the whole Streſs of all that related to Lawgiving upon a good Education.

One then of the *Rhetræ* was (as I ſaid) that their Laws ſhould not be written: another of them is particularly levell'd againſt Luxury and Expenſiveneſs; for by That it was ordained, That the Cielings of their Houſes ſhould only be wrought by the Ax, and their Gates and Doors ſmooth'd only by the Saw, without uſing any other Tool. And this was not without Myſtery: for if *Epaminondas* could afterwards ſay with ſo good a Grace, inviting ſome Friends to his Table, *Come, Gentlemen, be ſecure, Treaſon would never come to ſuch a poor Dinner as this*; why might not this great Lawgiver in all probability have thought that ſuch ill-favour'd Houſes would never be capable of receiving Luxury and Superfluity? For a Man muſt be more than ordinarily void of common diſcretion that would furniſh ſuch Rooms with embroidered Beds, and hangings of Arras, that would be ſerv'd in Plate upon a rough-hewn Table, and pretend to *pomp* and *magnificence* in a Houſe which was almoſt too narrow for the *Neceſſities* of Life. And doubtleſs he had good reaſon to think that they would proportion their Beds to their Houſes, and their Coverlets to their Beds, and that the reſt of their Goods and Furniture would be ſuitable to them. It is reported that King *Leotychidas*, the firſt of that Name, had been ſo little uſed to the ſight of other kind of Work, that, being entertain'd at *Corinth* in a ſtately Room, he was much ſurpris'd to ſee the Timber and Cieling ſo finely wrought, and aſked his Hoſt, *whether the Trees grew* (4) *ſquare in his Country.*

(4) τετρά-γωνα.

A third Ordinance or *Rhetra* of *Lycurgus*, which is often mentioned, was, That they ſhould not make War often, or long, with the ſame Enemy, leſt they ſhould train and inſtruct them in the Art of War, by having often to do with them; and

by

by forcing them to defend themſelves, at length teach them to be the Aggreſſors. And for breaking this Law was *Ageſilaus* much blamed a long time after, by making ſuch continual Incurſions into *Bœotia*, that at length he taught that People to make Head againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; and therefore *Antalcidas*, ſeeing him wounded one day, ſaid to him, that he was very well paid for teaching the *Thebans* to be good Soldiers, whether they would or no. And theſe Laws were called the *Rhetræ*, that is to ſay, not Inventions of Man's Wiſdom, but Divine Sanctions and Revelations from Heaven.

In order to the good Education of their Youth (which, as I ſaid before, he thought the moſt important and nobleſt Work of a Lawgiver) he went ſo far back as to take into conſideration their very Conception and Birth, by regulating their Marriages. For *Ariſtotle* wrongs the Memory of this excellent Perſon, by telling us, that, after he had try'd all manner of ways to reduce the Women to more Modeſty and Sobriety, he was at laſt forc'd to leave them as they were, not being able to reſtrain the great Liberties they took, and the Superiority which they aſſumed; becauſe that in the abſence of their Huſbands, who ſpent the beſt part of their lives in the Wars, their Wives made themſelves abſolute Miſtreſſes at home, and would be treated with as much reſpect as if they had been ſo many Queens. But by his good leave it is a miſtake; for he took for that Sex too all the care that was poſſible: as an inſtance of it, he ordered the Maidens to exerciſe themſelves with Wreſtling, Running, throwing the Bar, and caſting the Dart, to the end that the Fruit they conceived might take deeper root, and grow ſtrong, and ſpread itſelf in ſtrong and healthy Bodies; and withal that they themſelves by ſuch robuſt exerciſes might be the more able to undergo the Pains of Child-bearing with Eaſe and Safety. And to the end he might take away their over-great Tenderneſs, and that *acquired* Womaniſhneſs which vain cuſtom hath added to the *natural*, he ordered that they ſhould go naked as well as the young Men, and dance too in

that

that Condition at their ſolemn Feaſts and Sacrifices, ſinging certain Songs, whilſt the young Men ſtood in a Ring about them, ſeeing and hearing them: In theſe Songs they now and then gave a Satirical glance, to very good purpoſe, upon Thoſe who had miſbehaved themſelves [in the Wars,] and ſometimes ſang Encomiums upon Such as had done any gallant Action; and by theſe means inflamed the younger ſort with an Emulation of their Glory. Thoſe that were thus praiſed for their Bravery, and in high credit among the Virgins, went away hugely ſatisfy'd with ſuch Commendation; and Thoſe who were rally'd, were as ſenſibly touch'd with it, as if they had been formally and ſeverely reprimanded; and ſo much the more, becauſe the Kings and the whole Senate, as well as the reſt of the City, went to ſee and hear all that paſs'd. Now tho' it may ſeem ſtrange that Virgins ſhould appear thus naked in publick, yet may it be ſaid that where *true* Modeſty was obſerv'd and Wantonneſs excluded, there was nothing of Shame or Indecency in it; but it accuſtomed them to an innocent Simplicity, and raiſed in them an Emulation of having a vigorous Conſtitution, and gave even their tender Sex a Tincture of noble and manly Courage, as knowing that they were alſo to ſhare in the Credit of Valour and Generoſity. From hence came that Livelineſs of Speech and Nobleneſs of Spirit, of which we have an Inſtance in *Gorgo*, the Wife of King *Leonidas*, who being told, in Diſcourſe with ſome foreign Ladies, *You Women of Lacedæmon are They only of the World who have an Empire over the Men*; ſhe briſkly repartee'd, *A good Reaſon, for we are the only Women that bring forth Men.* Laſtly, theſe publick Proceſſions of the Maidens, and their appearing naked in their Exerciſes and Dancings, were Provocations and Baits to ſtir up and allure the young Men to Marriage; who were drawn (5) *not by force of Geometrical reaſons, but the more powerful force of Love*, as *Plato* expreſſes it. [*i. e.* not by Intereſt and Equality of Fortune and Birth, but from the

(5) οὐ γεωμετρικαῖς, ἀλλ' ἐρωτικαῖς ἀνάγκαις. Plato de repub. l. 5.

"ſweet

" *ſweet* Conſtraint and unſophiſticated Dictates of " Nature, from that *myſterious* Agreement and *Sympa-* " *thy* of Minds which alone can make Men happy " in a married Eſtate.] Beſides this, that he might promote Marriage more effectually, Thoſe who continued Bachelors were made infamous by Law; for they were excluded from the ſight of thoſe publick Proceſſions in which the young Men and Maidens danc'd naked; nay, the Officers compel'd them to march naked themſelves round the Market-place in the very depth of Winter, ſinging a certain Song to their own diſgrace, that they juſtly ſuffer'd this Puniſhment for diſobeying the Laws. Moreover they were depriv'd of that Reſpect and Obſervance which the younger ſort were oblig'd to pay to their Elders; and therefore no Man found fault with what was ſaid to *Dercyllidas*, a great Captain, and one who had commanded Armies; who, as he came into the place of Aſſembly, a young Man, inſtead of riſing and making room for him, told him, Sir, you muſt not expect *that Honour* from me now I am young, which *cannot be return'd to me by a Child of yours when I am old.*

When they had a mind to marry, their Courtſhip was a ſort of Rape upon the Perſons whom they a had fancy for, and thoſe they choſe not tender and (6) half Children, but in the Flower of their Age, and full ripe for a Huſband: After this, ſhe who manag'd the Wedding, comes and ſhaves cloſe the Hair of the Bride, dreſſes her up completely in Man's Clothes, leaves her upon a Matreſs in the dark; this done, in comes the Bridegroom, in his every Day Clothes, ſober and compos'd, as having ſupp'd according to Cuſtom at the Common Table, and ſteals in as privately as he can into the Room where the Bride lay, unties her Virgin Zone, and takes her into his Embraces; and ſo having ſtay'd ſome time together, he returns as ſecretly as he can to his Apartment with the

(6) *The* Romans *allow'd them to marry at twelve Years of Age: he covertly blames them for it.*

the reſt of his Comrades, with whom he ſpends all the Day, and good part of the Night too, unleſs he ſteals a ſhort Viſit to his Bride, and this he does with a great deal of Circumſpection and fear of being diſcover'd by any of the Family; nor is the Bride wanting (as may be ſuppos'd) on her part, to uſe her Woman's Wit in watching the moſt favourable Opportunities for their meeting, and making Appointments when Company was moſt out of the way. In this manner they liv'd a long time, inſomuch that they frequently had Children by their Wives before ever they ſaw their Faces by day-light. Their Interview being thus difficult and rare, ſerv'd not only for continual Exerciſe of their Temperance, and further'd very much the Ends and Intention of Marriage, but beſides, theſe ſhort Abſences kept their Paſſion ſtill alive, which *flags*, and *decays*, and *dies* at laſt by too eaſy Acceſs and long Continuance with the beloved Object; they always parted with Regret, contriving when they ſhould come together again, [and thought Minutes Hours till the next meeting.] Having thus ſet Modeſty as a Centinel over the Marriage-Bed, he next bethought himſelf how to prevent that wild and womaniſh Paſſion, *Jealouſy*, by making it a matter of reputation, not only to baniſh from Matrimony all violence and diſorder, but alſo to allow Men the Freedom of imparting the uſe of their Wives to deſerving Perſons, that ſo they might have Children by them: and he laugh'd at thoſe who think the Violation of their Bed ſuch an inſupportable Affront, that they revenge it by Murders often, and ſometimes by cruel Wars. *Lycurgus* thought a Man not to be blam'd, who being in Years, and having a young Wife, ſhould recommend ſome virtuous handſom young Man that ſhe might have a Child by him, who might inherit the good Qualities of ſuch a Father; and this Child the good Man loves as tenderly as if he was of his own getting: On the other ſide, a worthy Man who was in love with a married Woman upon the account of her Modeſty and the well-favour'd-neſs of her Children, might without formality beg of

her Husband a Night's Lodging, that he might, like Slips of a fine Tree planted in a goodly Garden, have Children of a good race and well related. For in the first place, *Lycurgus* was of a Perfuasion that Children were not so much the Propriety of their Parents, as of the whole Commonwealth; and therefore he wou'd not have 'em begot by the first Comers, but by the best Men that cou'd be found. And then the Laws of other Nations seem'd to him very defective and incongruous, who were very solicitous for the breed of their Dogs and Horses, and sent a great way, and were at no small Charges to get the best Stallions, and yet kept their Wives under Lock and Key for fear of other Men; whereas themselves were craz'd, old, or infirm, and more fit to propagate *Diseases* than their *Species*. If they had made the least Reflexion in the world, they would have taken notice that the Honour and Dishonour of Children, (who generally derive their good or ill Qualities from Those that beget 'em) doth chiefly redound to those who have the Charge of their Education; and if they prove ill, They first feel the Smart of it. Such Reasons may be alledg'd in favour of this Paradox of *Lycurgus*; but this is certain, that so long as these Ordinances were observ'd, the Women were there so far from that scandalous Liberty, which hath since been objected to them, that they knew not what the name of Adultery meant. A proof of This we have in *Geradas*, a very ancient *Spartan*, who being ask'd by a Stranger, what Punishment their Law had appointed for Adulterers, he answer'd, *My friend, there are no Adulterers in our Country*; but, replied the Stranger, *suppose there were one*, and the Crime prov'd against him, *how would you punish him?* he answer'd, that the Offender must pay to the Plaintiff a Bull with a Neck so long as that he might drink of the River *Eurotas* from over the top of Mount *Taygetus*. The Man being surpris'd at This, said, Why, 'tis impossible to find such a Bull: *Geradas* smilingly reply'd, 'twas just as possible to find an Adulterer in *Sparta*. And so much I had to say of their Marriages.

Nor

Nor was it in the Power of the Father to dispose of the Child as he thought fit, but he was oblig'd to carry it to the place (of Conference) call'd (7) *Lesche*, where some of the graveſt Men of the Tribe to which the Child belong'd kept their Court, whose Business it was carefully to view the Infant, and if they found it lusty and well-favour'd, they gave order for its Education, and allotted to it one of the nine thousand shares of Land above mentioned for its maintenance; but if they found it deform'd, and of an ill Complexion, they order'd it to be cast into the place call'd (8) *Apothetæ*, which was a deep Cavern in the Earth near the Mountain *Taygetus*; as thinking it neither for the good of the Child itself, nor for the publick Interest, that it should be brought up, since Nature had denied it the means of Happiness in its own particular, by not giving it Health nor Strength sufficient to make it serviceable to the Publick. Upon the same account the Women did not bathe the new-born Children with Water, as is the Custom in all other Countries, but with Wine, to prove the Temper and Complexion of their Bodies: from the Conceit they had, that weakly Children fall into Fits of Convulsion, or immediately faint upon their being thus bath'd; on the contrary, Those who were of a strong and vigorous Habit, would acquire a greater degree of firmness by it, and get a temper in proportion like Steel in the quenching. Their Nurses too were so careful and experienc'd, that without using Swadling-bands, their Children were all straight, well proportion'd and beautiful; and besides they us'd them to any sort of Meat, and sometimes to bear the want of it, not to be afraid in the dark, or of being alone, nor to be wayward, and peevish, and crying, [as they are generally in other Countries, through the impertinent Care and Fondness of Those who look to them.] Upon this account *Spartan* Nurses were often bought up, and hir'd by People of other Countries; and it is reported that *Amycla* who suckled *Alcibiades*

(7) λέσχη.

(8) i. e. *places of discharge.*

the *Athenian* was a *Spartan*: but if he was fortunate in his Nurſe, he was not ſo in his Schoolmaſter; for his Guardian *Pericles* (as *Plato* (9) tells us) choſe for that Office one call'd *Zopyrus*, nothing better than a Common Slave. *Lycurgus* was of another mind, he would not have Maſters bought out of the Market, nor Such as ſhould ſell their pains, nor would he have any thing mercenary in ſo important a Charge.

(9) *In* Alcib. *priore.*

Nor was it lawful for the Father himſelf to breed up the Children after his own Fancy; but as ſoon as they were ſeven Years old, they were to be enrol'd in certain Companies and Claſſes, where they all liv'd under the ſame Orders and Diſcipline, doing their Exerciſes, and recreating themſelves together. Of Theſe, he who ſhew'd the moſt Conduct and Courage, was made Captain; they had their Eyes always upon Him, obeyed His Orders, and underwent patiently whatſoever Puniſhment He inflicted: ſo that the whole courſe of their Education was one continued Exerciſe of a ready and perfect Obedience. The old Men too were Spectators of their Performances, and oft-times hatch'd Quarrels, and ſet them together by the Ears, that by thoſe *early* Indications they might perfectly learn their Natures, and know which would be Valiant, which a Coward, when they ſhould come to more dangerous Encounters: As for Learning, they gave them juſt enough to ſerve their Turn; their chief Care was to make them good Subjects, to fit them to endure the *Fatigues of long and tedious Marches, and never to return without Victory from the Field.* To this end, as they grew in Years their Exerciſes were proportionably increas'd; their Heads were ſhav'd, they were accuſtomed to go bare-foot, and for the moſt part to play naked.

After they were twelve Years old, they were no longer allow'd to wear *double Garments*, one plain Coat ſerv'd them a whole Year: and they were none of the neateſt and cleanlieſt Perſons in the World, being but little uſed to bathing [and trimming] or perfuming, for ſuch tender

der uſage was allowed them only upon ſome few particular days of the year. They lodg'd together in little Bands upon Beds made of the Ruſhes which grew by the Banks of the River *Eurotas*, and becauſe their Points were ſharp they were to break them off with their Hands without a Knife: if it were a hard Winter, they mingled ſome Thiſtle-down with their Ruſhes; this was thought ſufficient to keep them warm; [and as well contented they were with it, as if it had been the beſt Feather-bed in the World.] By that time they were come to this Age, there was not any of the more hopeful Lads who had not a Lover to bear him Company; the old Men too had an Eye upon them, coming often to the Schools to hear and ſee them contend either in Wit or Strength with one another: And This they did as ſeriouſly and with as much Concern as if they were their Fathers, their Tutors, or their Magiſtrates; ſo that there ſcarcely paſſed a moment without putting them in mind of their duty, nor was there any place ſo privileg'd, but that they were puniſh'd if they had neglected it.

Beſides all this, there was always one of the beſt and honeſteſt Men in the City appointed to undertake the Charge and Governance of them: He again rang'd them into ſeveral little Bands, and ſet over each of them for their Captain the diſcreteſt and moſt metal'd of thoſe they call'd *Irenes*, (who were uſually twenty Years old, and thoſe who were about eighteen were call'd *Mell-Irenes*, as much as to ſay, who would ſhortly be Men:) this young Man therefore was their Captain when they fought, and their Maſter at home, uſing them for the Offices of his Houſe; ſending the ſturdieſt of them to fetch Wood, and the weaker and the leſs able to gather Salads and Herbs, and Theſe they muſt either go without or ſteal them; and this they did by creeping into the Gardens, or conveying themſelves very cunningly and cloſely into the Eating-Houſes: And it concern'd them ſo to do, for if they were taken in the fact, they were whip'd without Mercy; and that, not for want of *Honeſty*, but for want of *Wit*, becauſe they did not lay their deſign well, and

were

were not fine and cunning in their faculty. They ſtole too all other Meat they could lay their hands on, looking out ſharp and watching all opportunities, when People were aſleep or more careleſs than uſual. If they were caught, they were not only puniſh'd with Whipping, but Hunger too, being reduc'd to their Ordinary, which was but very ſlender; and ſo contriv'd on purpoſe, that being preſs'd by Hunger, they might caſt about to help themſelves by ſome ſubtile Conveyance or adventurous Action: And this was the principal Deſign of their hard fare. Another there was by the bye: that they might grow the better in Tallneſs; for the vital Spirits not being overburden'd and oppreſſed by too great a quantity of Nouriſhment, (which neceſſarily diſcharges itſelf into Thickneſs and Breadth) do by their natural Lightneſs and Agility mount upwards, while the Body is more pliable and yielding; and this likewiſe is thought to give a good ſhape, for the more lean and ſlender Conſtitutions of body do more eaſily follow the *faſhioning* Hand of Nature, whereas thoſe which are groſs and over-fed are ſtubborn and untractable, [and ſhe can at beſt make but a bungling piece of work of them.] This we find by Experience in Women who take Phyſick whilſt they are with Child; for tho' the Children be by that means made ſomething leaner, and of a leſs ſize, yet are they, for the moſt part, lovely of Aſpect, and extraordinary well ſhap'd; the remaining Matter, after the Separation of the groſſer Humours, being more ſupple, and pliable, and recipient of its Form, [which is always *exact* and *perfect* in its kind, when the Matter is capable of it.] But whether this be the true Reaſon or not, I leave it to be further conſider'd, as a point not yet determin'd.

[To return from whence we have digreſſed;] the *Lacedæmonian* Children were ſo very cautious and fearful of being diſcovered, that a Youth having ſtoln a young Fox and hid it under his Coat, ſuffer'd it to tear out his very Bowels with its Teeth and Claws, and ſo died upon the place, rather than he would diſcover it. What is

practis'd

practis'd to this very Day by the Youth of *Lacedæmon* is enough to gain Credit to this Story, for myſelf have ſeen ſeveral of them endure whipping to death at the foot of the Altar of *Diana*, ſirnamed *Orthia*.

The *Iren*, or under Maſter, us'd to ſtay a little with them after Supper, and One of them he bid to ſing a Song: to Another he put forth a Queſtion, which requir'd an advis'd and deliberate Anſwer; for example, Who was the beſt Man in the City? What he thought of ſuch an action of ſuch a Man? Uſing them thus early to paſs a right Judgment upon Perſons and Things, and to inform themſelves of the Abilities or Defects of their Countrymen: if they had not an Anſwer ready to this queſtion, what Citizen was of good or ill reputation, they were look'd upon as of a *dull* and *careleſs Diſpoſition*, and to have little or no Senſe of Virtue and Honour: beſides This, they were to give a good Reaſon for their anſwer, and in as few words and as comprehenſive as might be. He that failed of This, or anſwered not to the purpoſe (inſtead of a Ferula) had his Thumb bit by the *Iren*. It ſo fell out oftentimes that the *Iren* did This in the preſence of the old Men and Magiſtrates, that they might ſee whether he puniſhed them juſtly and in due meaſure or not: and tho' he did amiſs, they would not reprove him before his Scholars, (leſt it ſhould diminiſh their reſpect to him) but when they were gone, he himſelf was call'd to an account, and underwent a Correction too, if he had run far into either of the Extremes of Indulgence or Severity.

It is a thing remarkable, that their *Lovers* had a ſhare in the young Lad's Honour or Diſgrace: and there goes a Story, that one of them was fined by the Magiſtrates, becauſe the Lad whom he lov'd cry'd out effeminately as he was fighting, (by the way, ſo much in faſhion was this ſort of love among them, that the moſt ſtay'd and virtuous Matrons would own publickly their paſſion to a modeſt and beautiful Virgin.) And tho' ſeveral Mens fancies met in one perſon, yet did not

not this cauſe any Strangeneſs or Jealouſy among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate Friendſhip, whilſt they all jointly conſpir'd to render the belov'd Boy the moſt accompliſh'd in the World.

They taught them alſo a natural and graceful way of ſpeaking, enlivened with a touch of inoffenſive Rallery, and comprehending a great deal of matter in few words. For *Lycurgus*, who ordered that a great piece of Money (as is already obſerv'd) ſhould be but of an inconſiderable Value, on the contrary, would allow no Diſcourſe to be *current*, which did not contain in few words a great deal of uſeful and weighty Senſe: Contriving that Children by a habit of long Silence and Meditation, ſhould have ſuch a Preſence and Quickneſs of Mind as to give very ſurpriſing Anſwers, and oft-times ſpeak Apothegms to the aſtoniſhment of the Hearers; whereas the Incontinence of the Tongue, like the other ſort of Incontinence, fruſtrates the ends of ſpeaking, as That does of Generation. From hence the Pithineſs of the *Laconian* Speech; an Inſtance of which we have in King *Agis*, who when a pert *Athenian* laugh'd at their ſhort Swords, and ſaid *that the Jugglers and Mountebanks ſwallow'd ſuch upon the Stage*, anſwer'd him, *And yet ſhort as they are, we can give our Enemies a home thruſt with them*; and as their Swords were ſhort and ſharp, ſo were their Sayings: and truly in my judgment there is in this conciſe way of Speech, ſomething which flies *level* to the mark, and ſtrikes into the very heart of Thoſe that hear it. *Lycurgus*, [who enjoined this manner of ſpeaking] was himſelf very ſhort and ſententious, if we may judge by what we find related of him; as that about *Government*, in Anſwer to One who by all means would have a popular Government in *Lacedæmon*: *Begin Friend*, ſaid he, *and make a Trial of it in thy own Family*: Or That about Sacrifices to Another, who ask'd him why he allow'd of ſo mean and trivial Sacrifices to the Gods? he reply'd, *That we may always have ſomething to offer to them*: Or That, when being ask'd, what

ſort

ſort of martial Exerciſes or Combates he approv'd of, he anſwer'd, *all ſorts, except that in which you* (1) *ſtretch out your hands.* Many Sayings of the like force are to be found in the Letters which he occaſionally wrote to his Countrymen; as being conſulted how they might beſt oppoſe an Invaſion of their Enemies, return'd this Anſwer, *By continuing poor, and not coveting to have One more than Another.* Being conſulted again, whether it were requiſite to incloſe the City with a Wall, he ſent 'em word, *That City is well fortified which hath a Wall of Men inſtead of Brick.* But as for theſe Letters, whether they be counterfeit or not, I think it no eaſy matter to determine, and therefore let every Man think as he pleaſes: But that they were indeed Enemies to Talkativeneſs, theſe following Inſtances are an authentick and ſufficient Proof. King *Leonidas* told One who held him in Diſcourſe upon ſome uſeful things, and worthy his hearing, but not in due time and place, *Sir, you are impertinent for ſpeaking in this place ſo much to the purpoſe.* King *Charilaus*, the Nephew of *Lycurgus*, being ask'd why his Uncle had made ſo few Laws, anſwer'd, *To Men of few Words few Laws are ſufficient.* One blam'd *Hecatæus* the Orator, becauſe that being invited to the Publick Entertainment, he had not ſpoke one word all Supper-time: *Archidamus* anſwer'd in his Vindication, *He who can ſpeak well knows alſo when to ſpeak.*

(1) *the Form of crying Quarter among the Ancients.*

I will now give an Inſtance or two of their ſharp Repartees, which, as I ſaid before, had a ſort of Pleaſantneſs with them, which made them to be the better excus'd. *Damaratus* being ask'd, in an abuſive manner by an importunate Fellow, Who was the beſt Man in *Lacedæmon?* anſwered him, *He, Sir, that is the leaſt like you.* Some, in Company where *Agis* was, much extoll'd the exact Juſtice of the *Eleans*, who ſat as Judges at the Olympick Games; *Is it ſuch a great matter,* ſays *Agis, if they can do Juſtice once in the*

ſpace

ſpace of five Years? Theopompus anſwered a Stranger, who brag'd that he was ſo much taken notice of for his love to the *Lacedæmonians*, that his Countrymen from thence call'd him (2) φιλολάκων, that it had been more for his Honour if they had call'd him (3) φιλοπολίτης. And *Pliſtonax*, the Son of *Pauſanias*, when an Orator of *Athens* ſaid the *Lacedæmonians* were an illiterate and ignorant People, told him, *You ſay true, Sir, for We only of all the* Grecians *have learned none of your Ill Conditions.* One asked *Archidamidas* what number of fighting Men there might be of the *Spartans*, he anſwered, *Enough, Sir, to drive out the wicked.*

(2) *A lover of the* Lacedæmonians.

(3) *A lover of his own Countrymen.*

We may gueſs too at their manner of ſpeaking by their very Jeſts. For they us'd not to throw them out at random, but the very Wit of them was grounded upon ſome conſiderable ſenſe. For inſtance, one being ask'd to go hear a Man who exactly counterfeited the Voice of a Nightingale, anſwered, *Sir, I have heard the Nightingale itſelf.* Another having read this following Inſcription upon a Tomb,

Extinguiſhing *a cruel Tyranny*
At Selinum *did theſe brave Patriots die:*

made this clinch upon it, that they well deſerved to die, for inſtead of *extinguiſhing* the Tyranny they ſhould have let it *burn out.* A Lad being offer'd ſome Cocks of the Game ſo hardy that they would die upon the place, ſaid, that *he car'd not for Cocks that would die hardy, but for Such as would live and kill others.* Another would by no means be carried home in a Chair, as he ſaw ſome Others were, becauſe, ſaid he, *I cannot conveniently riſe in it to pay Reſpect to my Betters.* In ſhort, their Anſwers were ſo ſententious and pertinent, that one ſaid well, that to act like a *Lacedæmonian* was rather acting like a Philoſopher than a lover

of

of bodily Exerciſe. [For tho' they were a very active People, they exerciſed their Minds much more than their Bodies.]

Nor were they leſs careful to ſing and compoſe well, than to expreſs themſelves in proper Terms, and to ſpeak to the *Point*: And their very Songs had ſuch a Life and Spirit in them, that they inflam'd and raviſh'd Mens Minds with a deſire to do great and good Actions; the ſtyle of them was plain and without Affectation; the ſubject always ſerious and moral: moſt uſually it was in *praiſe* of ſuch Men as had dy'd in the *Bed of Honour* for defence of their Country, or in *Deriſion* of thoſe who would not venture their Lives willingly in ſo good a Cauſe. The former they declar'd happy, and almoſt Gods; and the latter they deſcrib'd as moſt miſerable, and below the Condition of Men. In theſe Verſes too they talk'd high of what Feats they would do or had done, and vaunted of themſelves as the braveſt and moſt valiant People in the World, in expreſſions ſuitable to their ſeveral Ages, of which it may not be amiſs to give one inſtance for a Sample: for you muſt underſtand that they had three Choirs of them in their ſolemn Feſtivals, the firſt of the old Men, the ſecond of the young Men, and the laſt of the Children: The old Men began thus,

We have *been young (tho' now grown old)*
Hardy in Field, in Battle Bold.

The young Men anſwer'd them, ſinging,

We are ſo now: *let who dares try,*
We'll conquer, or in Combat die.

The Children came laſt, and ſaid,

Whatever ye can (4) *do or* (5) *tell,*
We one Day will you both excel.

(4) *To the young Men.*
(5) *To the old Men.*

Indeed if we take the pains to conſider their poetical Compoſitions (ſome of which are ſtill preſerved) and the Airs on the Flute to which they were ſet when they march'd to Battle, we ſhall find that *Terpander* and *Pindar* had reaſon to ſay that Muſick was not incompatible with, but rather an help and incentive to Valour. The firſt ſays thus of them;

Juſtice goes in proceſſion through their Streets,
And Mars *the* Muſes *in ſweet conſort meets.*

And *Pindar*———

Bleſt Sparta! *in whoſe State we find*
Things almoſt inconſiſtent join'd:
In quiet times your Martial toils not ceaſe,
And War's adorn'd with the ſoft arts of Peace.
Gray-headed Wiſdom reigns in your Debates,
And well-bred Youth, with equal Fire,
Handle their Arms, or touch their Lyre:
Ye Gods, the Muſick of well-order'd States!

So that theſe two Poets deſcribe the *Spartans* as being no leſs Muſical than Warlike, and the *Spartan* Poet himſelf confirms it:

Our Sports prelude *to War, and Muſick's Charms*
Inſpire deliberate Valour *to our Arms.*

And even before they engag'd in Battle, the King did firſt ſacrifice to the Muſes (in all likelihood) to put them in mind of the manner of their Education, and of the ſevere Judgment that would be paſs'd upon their Actions, and thereby to animate them to the performance of ſome gallant Exploit. Sometimes too the *Lacedæmonians* abated a little the ſeverity of their Diſcipline in favour of their young Men, ſuffering them to curl and perfume their Hair, and to have coſtly Arms and fine Clothes; and as well pleas'd they were to ſee them marching out full of Metal and Spirit to

an

an Engagement, as the other *Grecians* were to ſee their trim'd Horſes neighing, and preſſing for the (6) Courſe. And therefore when they came to be well-grown Lads, they took a great deal of care of their Hair, to have it parted and trim'd, eſpecially againſt a Day of Battle, purſuant to a Saying of their Lawgiver, that a large Head of Hair ſet off a good Face to more advantage, and Thoſe that were ugly it made more ugly and dreadful.

(6) *He alludes to the Olympick Games.*

When they were in the Army their Exerciſes were generally more moderate, their Fare not ſo hard, nor ſo ſtrict a Hand held over them by their Officers, ſo that they were the only People in the World to whom *War* gave *repoſe*. When their Army was drawn up in Battle-array, and the Enemy near, the King ſacrificed a Goat, commanded the Soldiers to ſet their Garlands upon their Heads, and the Pipers to play the Tune of the Hymn to *Caſtor*; and himſelf advancing forwards, began the *Pæan*, which ſerv'd for a ſignal to fall on. It was at once a delightful and terrible ſight to ſee them march on to the Tune of their Flutes, without ever troubling their Order, or confounding their Ranks, no diſorder in their Minds or change in their Countenance, but on they went to the hazard of their lives as unconcernedly and cheerfully, as if it had been to lead up a Dance, or to hear a Conſort of Muſick. Men in this temper were not likely to be poſſeſſed with *Fear*, or tranſported with *Fury*, but they proceeded with a *deliberate Valour*, full of hope and good aſſurance, as if ſome Divinity had ſenſibly aſſiſted them. When the King went againſt the Enemy, he had always about his Perſon ſome one who had been crown'd in the Olympick Games; and upon this account a *Lacedæmonian* refus'd a conſiderable Preſent, which was offered to him upon condition that he would not come into the Liſts; and having with much to do thrown his Antagoniſt, ſome of the Spectators ſaid to him, And now, Sir *Lacedæmonian*, what are you the better for

your Victory? he answered smiling, O, a great deal, Sir, *for I shall have the Honour to fight by the side of my Prince.* After they had routed an Enemy, they pursu'd him till they were well assured of the Victory, and then they sounded a Retreat, thinking it base and unworthy of a *Grecian* People, to kill and cut Men in pieces who durst not look them in the Face, or lift up their Hands against them. This manner of dealing did not only shew their magnanimity, but had a politick advantage in it too; for the Enemy knowing that they kill'd only Those who made resistance, and gave Quarter to the Rest, generally thought it their best way to consult their safety by flight. *Hippias* the Sophist says, that *Lycurgus* himself was a very valiant and experienced Commander. *Philostephanus* attributes to him the first division of the Cavalry into (7) Troops of fifties in a square Body: but *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* says quite the contrary, that he never was concerned in any warlike Engagement, but that he made all his Laws in a continued Peace. And indeed the Ordinance for Cessation of arms during the *Olympick* Games, procured by his means and management, inclines me to think him a good-natur'd Man, and one that lov'd Quietness and Peace. Notwithstanding all this, *Hermippus* tells us, he had no Hand in that Ordinance, nor any Communication with *Iphitus* at first, but came only as a Spectator, and that by mere accident too. But that being there he heard a voice of one behind him, blaming, and wondring at him that he did not encourage his Countrymen to resort to so Illustrious an Assembly; turning about and seeing no Man, he concluded it was a Voice from Heaven, and thereupon immediately went to *Iphitus*, and was assistant to him in ordering the Ceremonies of that Feast, which by his means were better establish'd, more famous and magnificent than before that time they were.

(7) ἴλαμοι, *Twelve in a side, the Captain and Lieutenant excepted.*

To

To return to the *Lacedæmonians*. Their Diſcipline and Order of Life continued ſtill after they were full grown Men. No one was allowed to live after his own fancy; but the whole City reſembled a great Camp, in which every Man had his ſhare of Proviſions, and Buſineſs ſet out, and look'd upon himſelf not ſo much born to ſerve his own Ends as the Intereſt of his Country. Therefore if they were commanded nothing elſe, they went to ſee the Lads perform their Exerciſes, to teach them ſomething uſeful, or to learn it themſelves of Thoſe who were older [and knew better.] And here I cannot but declare my Opinion, that one of the greateſt Bleſſings *Lycurgus* procur'd to his People was, the abundance of leiſure, which proceeded from his forbidding to them the Exerciſe of any mean and mechanical Trade; for it was but loſt labour to waſte themſelves with Anxiety and Toil, to heap together a great deal of riches, which when they had got was but uſeleſs lumber and of no value; for the *Ilotes* till'd their Ground for them, and paid them yearly in kind the quantity above-mention'd, without any trouble of theirs. To this purpoſe there goes a Story of a *Lacedæmonian*, who happen'd to be at *Athens* at the time of trying Offenders, where he heard that a Citizen, who had been puniſh'd for *Idleneſs*, came home much diſcontented, attended by his Friends who were grieved for him, and took his caſe much to heart: the *Lacedæmonian* [was much ſurpris'd at it, and] deſired the Company to ſhew him the man who was condemn'd for *living like a Gentleman*: ſo much beneath them they eſteemed all mechanical Employments, and the care of heaping up Riches.

I need not tell you that upon the prohibition of Gold and Silver all Law-ſuits immediately ceas'd, for there was now no ſuch thing among them as having too much, or wanting neceſſaries, but an Equality in plenty, and no great trouble to provide what frugality made ſo cheap. All their time (except when they

were in the Field) was taken up in dancing, in feasting, in their exercises, and hunting matches, or (8) places where good company us'd to meet. Those who were under thirty years of age were not allow'd to go into the Market-place, but had the necessaries of their Family supply'd by the care of their Relations and Lovers: nor was it for the credit of elderly men to be seen too often in the Market-place; it was esteem'd more honourable for Them to frequent the Academies and places of Conversation, where they discours'd agreeably, not about the interest of Money, and matters of common traffick: but the great business of this Conversation was [gravely to pass their judgment on some action worth considering;] to extol the Good, and blame Those who were otherwise, and that in a facetious way; so that the *Feather* of the Jest made the *Arrow* pierce the deeper, and left some useful remark or correction behind it. Nor was *Lycurgus* himself sullen and cynically grave, but on the contrary *Sosibius* relates, that it was He who dedicated a little Statue to the God of Laughter, introducing into their common Entertainments and other places of Conversation a seasonable Mirth, to make their Exercise and spare Diet relish the better. To conclude this, he bred up his Citizens in such sort, that they neither *would*, nor *could* live by themselves, but endeavouring to incorporate them all together, like *swarms* of Bees in a cluster about their *King*; wholly divesting themselves of their own narrow interests, and forgetting themselves by the continual ecstasy they were in to promote the publick Interests and Honour. What their Sentiments were will better appear by a few of their Sayings. *Pædaretus* not being admitted into the List of the Three hundred, return'd home very joyful and well pleas'd; saying, *That it did his heart good to find that there were in* Sparta *three hundred better Men than himself.* And *Pasistratidas* being sent with some others Ambassador

(8) *These were call'd* λίχαι.

ſador to the Lieutenants of the King of *Perſia*, being ask'd by theſe Lords, Whether they came of their own accord, or were ſent by the State? anſwered, That *if they obtain'd what they came for, they were commiſſion'd by the Publick; if not, they came of themſelves.* *Argileonis*, the Mother of *Braſidas*, asking ſome ſtrangers who came from *Amphipolis*, if her Son *Braſidas* dy'd courageouſly, and as became a *Spartan*, they fell a praiſing him to a high degree, and ſaid, There is not ſuch another left in *Sparta*: She took them up ſhort, and ſaid, *Hold, Gentlemen*, Braſidas *indeed was a valiant Man, but there are ſtill in* Sparta *many better Men than he.*

The Senate (as I ſaid before) conſiſted at firſt of thoſe who were his chief aiders and aſſiſtants in the forming of the Government, and the vacancies he ordered to be ſupply'd out of the beſt and moſt deſerving Men who were full threeſcore years old: and we need not wonder if there was much ſtriving and ſtickling for it; for what more glorious competition could there be among Men than this, in which it was not (9) diſputed, who ſhould bear away the prize of ſwiftneſs, or ſtrength, but who was the *wiſeſt* and moſt *virtuous* man in the City, to whom ſhould be intruſted for ever after (as the reward of his merits) the Power and Authority of the whole Commonwealth, and in whoſe hands ſhould be depoſited the Honour, the Lives and Fortunes of all his Countrymen. The manner of their Election was as follows: The People being called together, ſome perſons deputed by the Senate, were lock'd up in a Room near the place of Election, which was ſo contriv'd that they could neither ſee nor be ſeen by the Competitors or People, but only hear the noiſe of the Aſſembly without. (For they decided this, as moſt other Affairs of moment, by the ſhouts of the People.) This done, the Competitors were not brought in, and preſented all together, but one after another, as by lot fell out, and through the Aſſembly

(9) *As it was in the Olympick Games.*

Aſſembly they paſs'd in order without ſpeaking a Word. Thoſe who were lock'd up, had writing Tables with them, in which they ſet down the number of the Shouts and the greatneſs of them, without knowing to which of the Candidates each of them were made, only that it was to the Firſt, Second, or Third, and ſo in Order as they were brought in. But He who was found to have the moſt and loudeſt Acclamations, was declar'd *Senator* duly elected. Upon this he had a Garland ſet upon his head, and went in proceſſion to all the Temples to give thanks to the Gods: a great number of young Men followed him, making the Streets to echo with his praiſes: The young Ladies too ſung Verſes in his honour, and a bleſſed Man they call'd Him who had led ſo virtuous a Life. As he went round the City in this manner, each of his Relations invited him to a handſom Supper, ſaying, *The City honours you with this Banquet:* but he, inſtead of accepting their Invitation, returned to the common Table, where he formerly us'd to eat, and was ſerv'd as before, excepting that now he had a *ſecond meſs* allowed him, which he ſet by. By that time Supper was ended, all the Women who were of kin to him were got about the Hall-door; and he beckoning to Her whom he moſt eſteem'd, preſented to her the Portion he had ſav'd, ſaying withal, *This was given me to-day as a reward of my Virtue, I preſent it to you as an acknowledgement of yours:* upon This She was triumphantly waited upon home by the Women, as he was by the Men.

As touching Burials, *Lycurgus* made very wiſe Orders: for firſt of all, to cut off the Superſtition of Burying-places, he allow'd them to bury their dead within the City, and to have their Tombs near the Temples, to the end that their Youth might be uſed to ſuch Spectacles, and not be afraid, nor have any ſuch dreadful Averſion to Death as to fancy that touching a Corps, or treading upon a Grave, would defile a Man. In the next place he commanded them to put nothing elſe into the Ground with them; only they wound

wound up the body in red Cloth, with a few Branches or Leaves of Olive. He would not [allow of *Talkative Graveſtones*, nor] ſuffer ſo much as the names to be inſcrib'd, but only of ſuch Men who dy'd in the Wars, or Women who were profeſs'd of ſome Religious Order. The time too appointed for Mourning was very ſhort; for it laſted but eleven days, and on the twelfth they were to do Sacrifice to *Ceres*, and leave off their Mourning: ſo that we may ſee as he cut off every thing that was idle and impertinent, ſo in things neceſſary there was nothing ſo ſmall and trivial which had not ſome profitable Leſſon and Inſtruction in it, and caus'd an emulation of Virtue or hatred to Vice. All *Lacedæmon* [was like a *great Volume*, every *Leaf* of which] was fill'd with good Rules, and great Examples: which preſenting themſelves at all times and in all places to their thoughts, did inſenſibly *aſſimilate* the minds of the lookers-on, and force them to imitate That always which they could not but meet with every where.

And this was the reaſon why he would not allow All that pleaſed, to go abroad, and to travel into foreign Countries, *viz.* leſt they ſhould bring in foreign Manners and Cuſtoms along with them, and follow the faſhions of ſuch as had been ſpoil'd by ill Education, and affect different Models of Government. Withal he baniſhed all Strangers from *Lacedæmon* who could not give a very good reaſon for their coming thither; not becauſe he was afraid (as *Thucydides* would have it believed) leſt they ſhould inform themſelves of and imitate his manner of Government, or learn any thing which might improve their Valour and Virtue; but rather leſt they ſhould introduce ſomething contrary to good manners: for ſtrange Perſons bring uſually ſtrange Diſcourſe along with them, that produces new Thoughts and Perſuaſions, and from different Opinions ariſe many ſtrange paſſions and inclinations, which make diſcord, and as it were deſtroy the harmony of Converſation and civil Society: and therefore

fore as careful he was, for fear of corrupting the City, to keep out all foreign cuſtoms as men uſually are to keep out ſuſpected perſons in the time of a reigning Peſtilence.

Hitherto, I for my part can ſee no ſign of injuſtice or want of equity [in the Conſtitutions of this Commonwealth,] which is the thing that ſome blame in the Laws of *Lycurgus*, who ſay they are very well contriv'd to make Men good Soldiers, but exceedingly defective in civil Juſtice and Honeſty. But as for the *Ambuſcade* (if it were one of *Lycurgus*'s Inſtitutions, as *Ariſtotle* ſays it was) it might well enough give even *Plato* likewiſe the ſame conceit both of the Lawgiver and his Government. The thing was this: Thoſe who had the care of the young men, diſpatch'd from time to time ſome of the ableſt of them into the Country at random, arm'd only with their Daggers, and taking a little neceſſary proviſion with them; Theſe in the day-time hid themſelves in the Thickets and Clefts, and there lay cloſe, but in the night they iſſued out into the High-ways and kill'd all the *Ilotes* they could light upon: ſometimes they ſet upon them by day, as they were at work in the Fields, and murdered the ableſt and ſtouteſt of them in cold Blood, as *Thucydides* alſo, in his Hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* War, relates; where he tells us, that Such of them as the *Lacedæmonians* had fingled out for their Valour, were crowned by Proclamation, as Perſons enfranchiſed [for their good ſervices;] and went about to all the Temples in token of Freedom; but that ſoon after they all diſappeared on a ſudden, being about the number of two thouſand; and no man neither then nor ſince could give an account how they came by their deaths. And *Ariſtotle* particularly ſays, that the *Ephori*, ſo ſoon as they were entered into their Office, us'd to declare war againſt them, that they might be maſſacred with a pretence of *Law*. It is confeſs'd on all hands, that the *Spartans* dealt with them very hardly; for it was a thing common to force them to drink

drink to exceſs, and to lead them in that Condition into their publick Halls, that their Children might ſee what *a contemptible and beaſtly ſight a drunken Man is*: they made them ſing ſuch Songs, and dance ſuch Dances, as were uncomely and ridiculous, forbidding them expreſly to meddle with any that were fit for a Freeman, [for they *would not have them prophaned by their Mouths.*] Upon this account when the *Thebans* made an Invaſion into *Laconia*, and took a great number of the *Ilotes* Priſoners, they could by no means perſuade them to ſing the Odes of (1) *Terpander*, *Alcman*, or *Spendon*; for (ſaid they) they are our *Maſter's Songs*, we dare not ſing them. So that they ſeem to have underſtood the difference of States very well, who ſay, that in *Sparta* he who was free was the moſt free, and he that was a Slave there was the greateſt Slave in the World. For my part, I am of Opinion that theſe Outrages and Cruelties began to be exercis'd in *Sparta* long after the time of *Lycurgus*, namely, ſoon after the great Earthquake, at which time the *Ilotes* made a general Inſurrection, and, joining with the *Meſſenians*, laid the whole Country waſte, and brought the City to the greateſt extremity it had ever been reduc'd to: For I cannot be perſuaded that ever *Lycurgus* invented or put in force ſo wicked and barbarous an Act as this of the *Ambuſcade* was, eſpecially when I look back upon the Gentleneſs of his Diſpoſition, and his unprejudic'd Juſtice upon all other occaſions; [not to ſay that it were a piece of high *Impiety* to think hard of him, ſince (2) even a God hath given ſo great a Character of his Virtue.]

(1) Lacedæmonian *Poets.*

(2) *The Oracle abovementioned.*

[To draw now towards the laſt Scenes of his Life] When the principal part of his Laws had taken ſuch deep root in the Minds of his Countrymen, that Cuſtom had rendred them familiar, and the Commonwealth was now, by his nurſing, pretty well grown up,

up, and able to go alone and take care of its ſelf; Then as *Plato* ſomewhere tells us, that the Maker of the World, when he had finiſh'd and ſet this *great Machine* a moving, and found every thing axactly to anſwer his *great Idea*, had a calm Joy and Contentation of Mind: So *Lycurgus* felt a wonderful Pleaſure in the Contemplation of the *Greatneſs* and *Beauty* of his Legal Oeconomy, every part of which was now ſet to work, and moved on in due Order; and at laſt he conceived a vaſt Thought to make it *immortal* too, and as far as Human Forecaſt could reach to deliver it down *unchangeable* to Poſterity. To bring this to paſs, he called an extraordinary Aſſembly of all the People, he told them that he now thought every thing reaſonably well eſtabliſh'd, both for the publick Happineſs and improving the virtue of each Particular; but that there was one thing ſtill behind, and that of the greateſt Importance, which he thought not fit to impart until he had conſulted the Oracle: In the mean time his Deſire was, that they would punctually obſerve his Laws without any the leaſt alteration until his *Return* from *Delphi*, and then he would do as the Gods ſhould direct him. They all conſented readily, and pray'd him to haſten his Voyage; but before he departed he adminiſtred an Oath to the two Kings, the Senate, and then to all the Commons, that they would inviolably obſerve his Ordinances during his abſence. This done, he ſet ſail for *Delphi*; when he came to the Oracle, and had ſacrific'd to *Apollo*, he aſk'd him, *Whether the Laws he had eſtabliſh'd were ſufficient to make a City virtuous and happy?* The Oracle anſwer'd, *That his Laws were excellent, and that the City ſhould continue in the higheſt renown while it obſerved the Polity of* Lycurgus. He took this Oracle in writing, and ſent it over to *Sparta*: and then, having ſacrific'd the ſecond time to *Apollo*, and taken his leave of his Friends, and his Son, he reſolv'd that the *Spartans* ſhould never be releas'd from the Oath they had taken, but that there he would put a voluntary end to his Life, being now about

about that Age in which Life was ſtill agreeable, and yet a *wiſe Man* might quit it without *Regret*; eſpecially when he conſider'd, *That Death then comes ſeaſonably when Life is at the beſt.* He therefore made an end of himſelf by a total Abſtinence from Meat, [and even dying ſet a Copy of *Temperance* to his Countrymen;] for he thought Stateſmen and good Patriots ſhould ſerve their Country with their laſt Breath, and that the end of their Lives ſhould be no more idle and unprofitable than all that went before, but make a part in the Character of a virtuous and active man; [eſpecially ſince all Men have a Curioſity to know the End of great Perſonages, and *believe* moſt firmly, and remember *longeſt*, what they *did* or *ſaid* dying:] and in This he had a double end, the One to ſecure and crown his own Happineſs, by a Death ſuitable to ſo honourable a Life; and the Other, that it might be a Seal and Confirmation of his Laws, eſpecially ſince his Countrymen had ſolemnly ſworn the Obſervation of them until his Return. Nor was he deceiv'd in his Expectations, for the City of *Lacedæmon* continued the chief City of all *Greece*, both in reſpect of good Government at home and Reputation abroad, for the ſpace of five hundred Years, mainly by their ſtrict Obſervance of *Lycurgus*'s Laws; in all which time there was no manner of alteration made during the Reign of fourteen Kings, from Him to the time of *Agis* the Son of *Archidamus*. For the new Creation of the *Ephori* proved rather an enforcement than relaxation of the diſcipline of the City, who though they were thought to be choſen in favour of the People, were ſo far from diminiſhing, that they very much confirm'd the Power of the Senate.

In the Reign of *Agis* Money firſt found a way into *Sparta*, and together with it came in likewiſe a greedy deſire and immoderate love of Riches, which diſorder was much promoted by *Alexander*, or rather by *Lyſander*, who by bringing in plenty of Gold and Silver from the Wars, altho' himſelf was above being Corrupted

with Money, yet by this means he filled his Country with Avarice and Luxury, directly againſt the Laws and Ordinances of *Lycurgus*; which ſo long as they were in force, *Sparta* reſembled ſome holy Perſonage or particular Philoſopher [ſo unanimous they were, and, as it were, *acted by one* Soul] rather than a great Commonwealth and Metropolis of an Empire. And as the Poets feign of *Hercules*, that with his Lion's Skin and his Club he went over the World, puniſhing the wicked and extirpating Tyrants; ſo may it be ſaid of the *Lacedæmonians*, that with a piece of Parchment and a plain Freez Coat, they gained the Sovereignty of *Greece*, and (which is more) their *Affections* too; they depoſed all uſurped Powers and tyrannical Governments, determined Wars by their Authority, and compoſed Civil Differences or Seditions: and this they often did, without ſo much as taking their Buckler in their hand, but barely by ſending ſome *plain Man*, without *Attendance*, who went under the Character of the *Lacedæmonian* Ambaſſador: and they ſwarm'd about him at his coming, like Bees about their King, and immediately compoſed themſelves into good Order: ſo remarkably eminent for good Government and exact Juſtice was this illuſtrious Commonwealth, above others.

And therefore I cannot but wonder at thoſe who ſay, that the *Spartans* were good and obedient Subjects, but not skill'd in the Art of Governing; and for Proof of it alledge a Saying of King *Theopompus*, who when one ſaid that *Sparta* held up ſo long, becauſe their Kings *could command well*, reply'd, Nay, rather, becauſe *the People know ſo well how to obey*: For indeed *thoſe who cannot command wiſely*, are ſeldom or never well ſerv'd; on the other hand, how Obedience to Authority may be procured is a leſſon which the Prince ought to learn, for *a ſkilful Leader is always readily followed*. And as it is the part of a good Rider to train his Horſe to turn, or ſtop, or go on at his

his Pleaſure; ſo is it the greateſt piece of (3) *Kingcraft* to teach their Subjects a willing *Obedience*: Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* ſo ordered Matters, that People did not only *endure*, but even *deſir'd* to be their Subjects. For they did not uſe to petition them for Ships, or Money, or a Supply of armed Men, but only for a *Spartan Commander*; and having obtain'd one, us'd him with Honour and Reverence: for ſo the *Sicilians* behaved themſelves to *Gylippus*, the *Chalcidians* to *Braſidas*, and all the *Colonies* of the *Grecians* in *Aſia* to *Lyſander*, *Ageſilaus* and *Callicratidas*. In ſhort, they eſteem'd and call'd them the *Peacemakers*, the Reformers, the Correctors of the Licentiouſneſs both of Princes and People; and had their Eyes always upon the City of *Sparta*, as the perfect Model of good Manners and wiſe Government; the Reſt ſeem'd as *Scholars*, They were the Maſters of *Greece*. And to this *Stratonicus* pleaſantly alluded, when in Merriment he pretended to make a Law, that the *Athenians* ſhould make Proceſſions and celebrate Myſteries, the *Eleans* ſhould diſpoſe of the Prizes at the Olympick Games (as being beſt ſkill'd in Matters of this nature) and that if either of them did amiſs, the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould be *well beaten*. This was ſaid only by way of ridicule; but *Antiſthenes*, one of the Scholars of *Socrates*, ſaid in earneſt of the *Thebans*, who were become very much elated for their ſingle Victory at *Leuctres*, *That they look'd like Schoolboys who were proud of having newly beaten their Maſter*. [Theſe indeed were merry Sayings, but yet may ſerve to teſtify the Opinion Men then had of the *Spartans*.]

(3) βασιλικὴν ἐπιστήμην.

However it was not the main Deſign of *Lycurgus*, that this City ſhould govern a great many Others; he thought rather that the Happineſs of a Kingdom, as of a private Man, conſiſted chiefly in the Exerciſe of Virtue, and mutual Love of the Inhabitants: to this purpoſe his principal aim and contrivance was to make them nobly-minded, content with their own, not apt to

follow vain Hopes, but moderate in all their Enterprises; and by consequence able to maintain themselves, and continue long in Safety. And therefore all Those who have written well of Politicks, as *Plato*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno*, and several Others, have taken *Lycurgus* for their Model, as appears by their Writings: but these great Men left only vain Projects in writing, and Words, behind them; whereas *Lycurgus*, without writing any thing, did actually produce a real Government, which as it was never thought of before him, so can it scarcely be imitated in following Ages; so that he stands for an undeniable Proof, that a *perfect* wise Man was not so mere a Notion and Chimera as some Men thought. For he hath obliged the World not with one single Man, but the whole Nation of Philosophers, and therefore deserves Preference before all other Statesmen of *Greece*, [because he put That in practice of which They only had the Idea.] *Aristotle* himself was so convinced of his Merit, that he acknowledges they did him less Honour in *Sparta* after his Death than he deserv'd, altho' they did him the greatest they could think of, for there is still a Temple of his where every Year they offer Sacrifice to him as to a God.

It is reported that when his Bones were brought home to *Sparta*, his Tomb was struck with Lightning; an accident which befel no eminent Person but himself and *Euripides*, who was buried at *Arethusa* a City of *Macedon*; so that this is brought as a plea, or rather as a sufficient evidence, in favour of Those who have an honour for that excellent Poet, That he had the same fate with that holy Man and Favourite of the Gods. Some say *Lycurgus* died in the City of *Cirrha*, but *Apollothemis* says he died after he was brought to *Elis*. *Timæus* and *Aristoxenus*, that he ended his days in *Crete*. *Aristoxenus* further says, that his Tomb is shewn by the *Cretans* at *Pergamy* near the great Road. He left but one Son, nam'd *Antiorus*, who dying without Issue, the race was extinct. His Relations and Friends held an annual Assembly in Commemoration of him, and the

Days

Days of their meeting were called *Lycurgides*. *Ariſtocrates*, the Son of *Hipparchus*, ſays that he died in *Crete*, and that the Perſons where he lodged, when they had burn'd his Body, caſt the aſhes into the Sea, which was what himſelf had deſired, for fear that if his *Relicks* ſhould be tranſported to *Lacedæmon*, the People might pretend themſelves releaſed from their Oaths, and make Innovations in the Government.

And thus much may ſuffice for the Life and Actions of Lycurgus.

THE LIFE OF *NUMA POMPILIUS.*

THERE is (1) likewiſe a great diverſity [amongſt Hiſtorians] concerning the time in which *Numa Pompilius* reign'd. Tho' Many [Noble Families of *Rome*] pretend to derive their Original exactly from him: However a certain Writer call'd *Clodius*, in a Book of his, entitled *The Chronology of paſt times*, avers, that the ancient Regiſters of *Rome* were loſt when that City was ſacked by the *Gauls*, and that Thoſe which are now extant, are counterfeited by ſuch as flatter and ſerve the Humour of ſome great Men, who are reſolved at any rate to have their Pedigree derived from ſome ancient and noble Lineage, tho' in reality that Family hath no relation to them. And tho' it be commonly reported, that *Numa* was [a Scholar and] a familiar Acquaintance of *Pythagoras*; yet it is again contradicted by Thoſe who affirm that he neither was acquainted with the *Grecian* Language, nor Learning; and that he was either a Perſon of that natural Talent and Abilities of Mind,

(1) i. e. *as well as about the time of* Lycurgus.

Mind, as of himſelf to attain unto Virtue; or elſe that his Inclinations were cultivated by ſome foreign Inſtructor, whoſe Rules and Doctrine were more excellent and ſublime than thoſe of *Pythagoras*. Some affirm alſo, that (2) this *Pythagoras* was not cotemporary with *Numa*, but lived at leaſt five Ages after him; but that there was another *Pythagoras*, a Native of *Sparta*, who won the Prize at the Olympick race, in the ſixteenth Olympiad, in the third Year of which Olympiad *Numa* was choſen King; and that This might be the Perſon, who, in his Travels through *Italy*, having gained an Acquaintance and Familiarity with *Numa*, might aſſiſt him in ſettling the Order of his Kingdom; for which Reaſon, at the direction of This *Pythagoras*, many of the *Laconian* Laws and Cuſtoms might probably be introduced amongſt the *Roman* Inſtitutions: Or elſe it might be, becauſe *Numa* was deſcended of the *Sabins*, who declared themſelves to be a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*. However it is a difficult Matter to adjuſt the times exactly, eſpecially ſuch as are deduced from the Perſons who were Conquerors at the Olympick Games. The orderly account (or liſt) of which was, as 'tis ſaid, publiſhed ſo long after by *Hippias* of *Elis*, who grounds it upon no ſufficient Authority to render it Authentick. But what we have collected as moſt remarkable and worthy to be related concerning *Numa*, we ſhall deliver, taking our Beginning from that place which is moſt pertinent to our purpoſe.

(2) i. e. *the* Samian *Philoſopher*.

It was the thirty ſeventh Year, accounted from the Foundation of *Rome*, when *Romulus* then reigning, did on the fifth day of the Month of *July*, [which day is ſtill call'd the *Capratine Nones*] offer a publick Sacrifice at the *Goats Marſh*, in preſence of the Senate and moſt of the People of *Rome*: But then on a ſudden aroſe a furious Tempeſt, which, with black Clouds and Thunder rending the Air, made an Eruption on the Earth, which affrighted all the reſt of the Company with ſuch Confuſion, that they fled and were diſpers'd. In this Whirl-

Whirlwind *Romulus* diſappear'd, his Body being never ſince found either living or dead. This Accident gave occaſion to the World grievouſly to ſuſpect the practice of the *Patricians*; and a rumour went among People which bore hard upon them, as if they had long been weary of Kingly Government, and with a deſign to aſſume the Authority and Government into their own hands, had made the King away: becauſe indeed of late he was thought to ſhew a more hard and Imperious deportment towards them. But they found means to wipe off this Suſpicion, by ordaining divine Honours to be paid to *Romulus* as to one not dead, but tranſlated to a ſublimer ſtate, above the Condition of mortal Nature: And this was confirmed by the Teſtimony of *Proculus*, a noble Perſon, who ſwore that he ſaw *Romulus* catch'd up into Heaven in his Arms and Veſtments, and as he aſcended cry'd out, that they ſhould hereafter ſtyle him by the Name of *Quirinus*.

Beſides this Commotion there aroſe another, in which the City was greatly divided about the Election of a future King; for the Minds of the ancient *Romans*, and the new Inhabitants, were not as yet grown into that perfect Union and Coalition of Spirits, but that there were diverſities of Factions amongſt the Commonalty, and Jealouſies and Emulations amongſt the Senators: for tho' all agreed that it was neceſſary to have a King, yet what Perſon or of which of the two Nations this Prince ſhould be, was ſtill a great Diſpute. For Thoſe who had been Builders of the City with *Romulus*, tho' they had already yielded a ſhare of their Lands and Dwellings to the *Sabins*, who were Aliens, yet could they not be perſuaded to reſign into their Hands the Regal Authority over Thoſe that entertained them. On the other ſide the *Sabins* had a reaſonable plea, when they alledg'd, that their King *Tatius* being deceas'd, they had peaceably ſubmitted to the Obedience of *Romulus*, ſo that now their Turn was come to have a King choſen out of their own Nation; nor did they eſteem them-

themſelves inferior to the *Romans*, nor to have contributed leſs than They to the Increaſe of *Rome*, which, without their Numbers and Aſſociation, could never have merited the Name of a City.

This was the ground of their diſcord; but leſt in the mean time, while the right of Government was in ſuſpence, Sedition in this ſtate of Anarchy ſhould occaſion Confuſion in the Commonwealth, it was agreed and ordained by the Senators, who were an hundred and fifty in number, that each of them ſhould interchangeably execute the Office of Supreme Magiſtrate, in the Name of *Quirinus*, and with all the Formalities and Rites of Regality offer the ſolemn Sacrifices, and diſpatch Judicial Cauſes for the ſpace of ſix Hours by Day and ſix by Night: This equal diſtribution of the two Seaſons was look'd upon as well contriv'd in point of Equality among the Senators; and the viciſſitude of Power, in reſpect of the People was to remove Envy; when they could behold one elevated to the degree of a King, level'd in the ſame Day and ſame Night to the private Condition of a Subject: which Form of Government was termed by the *Romans*, *Interregnum*. But yet for all this plauſible and modeſt way of Rule they could not eſcape the Cenſure and Clamours of the vulgar, as if they were changing the form of the Commonwealth into an Oligarchy, and by (3) keeping the State as it were in Tuition among themſelves, intend to aboliſh Kingly Government. But at length both Parties came to this concluſion, That the One ſhould chooſe a King out of the Body of the other; [that if the *Romans* were Electors, they were to make choice of a *Sabin*, and if the *Sabins* elected, they were to chooſe a *Roman*.] This was eſteemed the beſt Expedient, both to reconcile the contending Parties at preſent, and to make the Created Prince equally obliged to both parties, out of favour to the One for their Suffrages in his Election, and of love to the Other on ſcore of Relation and Conſanguinity. In purſuance of this Agreement the *Sabins* remitted the Choice

(3) διαπαιδαγωγοῦντες.

Choice to the ancient *Romans*, who were more inclinable to receive a *Sabin* King elected by themſelves, than to allow a *Roman* exalted by the *Sabins*. Conſultations being accordingly held among themſelves, *Numa Pompilius*, of the *Sabin* Race, was elected; a Perſon ſo famous, and of that high Reputation for his virtue, tho' he were not one of thoſe *Sabins* who came to reſide at *Rome*, that no ſooner was he nominated than accepted by the *Sabins* with Applauſe and Acclamation, equal to that Freedom which the *Romans* ſhew'd in his Election.

The Choice being declar'd and made publick, Principal Men of both Parties were appointed Ambaſſadors to compliment and intreat the Prince, that he would be pleas'd to accept the Adminiſtration of the Kingly Government. Now this *Numa* reſided at a famous City of the *Sabins* called *Cures*, whence both the *Romans* and *Sabins* afterwards gave themſelves the name of *Quirites*, as a comprehenſive name for both Aſſociates. He was the Son of *Pomponius*, an illuſtrious Perſon, and was the youngeſt of four Brothers, being by (4) ſome divine Good Fortune born on the eleventh of the Calends of *May*, which was the day on which the Foundation of *Rome* was laid by *Romulus*: he was endued with a Soul rarely temper'd by Nature, and diſpoſed to Virtue, and excellently improved by Learning, Patience, and the Studies of Philoſophy; by which advantages he had utterly extirpated not only all ſuch diſorderly Motions of the Mind, as are univerſally eſteemed vile and mean, but even all inclination to Violence and Oppreſſion, which had once an honourable Eſteem amongſt the barbarous Nations; being perſuaded that there was no other Fortitude than That which ſubdu'd the Affections, and reduc'd them to the Terms and Reſtraints of Reaſon.

(4) τινα θείαν τύχην.

Upon this account, whilſt he baniſh'd all Luxury and Softneſs from his own home; and offered his beſt aſſiſtance to any Citizen or Stranger that would make uſe of

of him, in nature of an upright Judge or faithful Counſellor; and made uſe of what leiſure hours he had to himſelf, not in purſuit of pleaſure, or acquiſition of profit and wealth, but in the Worſhip of the immortal Gods, and in the rational contemplation of their Divine Power and Nature; His name grew ſo very famous, that *Tatius*, who was *Romulus*'s Aſſociate in the Kingdom of *Rome*, choſe to make him his Son-in-law, beſtowing upon him his only Daughter *Tatia*. Nor yet did the advantage of this Marriage ſwell his Vanity to ſuch a pitch as to deſire to dwell with his Father-in-law at *Rome*; but rather to content himſelf to inhabit with his *Sabins*, and cheriſh his own Father in his old Age: The like inclinations had *Tatia*, who preferred the private condition of her Huſband before the honours and ſplendor ſhe might have enjoyed in her Father's Court. This *Tatia*, as is reported, after ſhe had lived for the ſpace of thirteen years with *Nûma* in conjugal ſociety, died; and then *Numa*, leaving the converſation of the Town, betook himſelf to a Country life, and in a ſolitary manner frequented the Groves and Fields conſecrated to the Gods, making his uſual abode in deſart Places. And from hence in a great meaſure that Story about the Goddeſs had its Original, which was, that this ſame *Numa* did not retire from the Company of Men out of any Melancholy or diſturbance of Mind, but becauſe he had experienced a more ſublime Converſation, and been thought worthy of a Celeſtial Bride, having the Goddeſs *Egeria* for his Conſort, who was in love with him; and that by conſtantly converſing with her, he became a beatified Man, and ſkilled in all Divine Matters.

There is no doubt but that ſuch Fancies as theſe are much like many of thoſe very ancient Fables; ſuch as the *Phrygians* recount of *Atis*, the *Bithynians* of *Herodotus*, the *Arcadians* of *Endymion*, and a thouſand others, which paſt Ages recorded for Saints, that were beatified and beloved of the Gods. Nor doth it ſeem ſtrange, if God, who places not his affection on Horſes, or Birds, but

but on Mankind, ſhould be pleaſed to dwell with ſuch as are moſt eminently Virtuous, and not diſdain or deſpiſe a ſpiritual Converſation with wiſe and heavenly Perſons; tho' it be altogether irrational to believe, that the Divine Eſſence of any God or Demon is capable of a ſenſual or carnal Love or Paſſion for human Bodily Form or Beauty: And yet the wiſe *Ægyptians* make a diſtinction which ſeems not very abſurd to imagine, which is, that a Divine Spirit, by a certain ſpiritual impulſe, may poſſibly apply itſelf to the nature of a Woman, and lay the firſt beginnings of Generation; but on the other ſide, that it is impoſſible for the Male-kind to have any congreſs or mixture with a Goddeſs; but at the ſame time they do not conſider that there can be no real coition, but where there is a mutual Communication of One to the Other. However, notwithſtanding This, it may be no abſurdity to ſay, that the Gods have a kindneſs and friendſhip for Men; and upon this account are ſaid to *Love* them, and this *Love* naturally expreſſes itſelf in a particular Care over their Virtue and good Qualities: And therefore it was no Error of thoſe who feigned, that *Phorbas*, *Hyacinthus* and *Admetus* were beloved by *Apollo*; or that *Hippolitus* the *Sicyonian* was ſo much in his favour, that as often as he ſailed from *Sicyon* to *Cirrha*, the God rejoiced, and inſpired the *Pythian* Propheteſs with this heroick Verſe,

Now doth Hippolytus *return again,*
And venture his dear Life upon the Main.

It is reported alſo, that *Pan* became enamoured of *Pindar* and his Verſes, and that a Deity honoured *Heſiod* and *Archilochus* after their Deaths, for the ſake of their Muſes: It is ſaid alſo that *Æſculapius* ſojourned with *Sophocles* in his life-time, of which many inſtances are extant to theſe days; and that being dead, another Deity took care to perform his Funeral-Rites. Wherefore if any credit may be given to theſe particular inſtances, why ſhould we judge incongruous, that a like Spirit

Spirit of the Gods ſhould inſpire, *Zaleucus*, *Minos*, *Zoroaſter*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, or many others; [or that the Gods ſhould confer a meaner proportion of their favours on Thoſe] who were Founders of Commonwealths, or buſied in making Laws, and adminiſtration of the Political Affairs of Kingdoms? Nay, it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that the Gods in their ſober humour are aſſiſtant at the Counſels and ſerious Debates of theſe Men, to inſpire and direct them; as they do alſo Poets and Muſicians, (if at all,) when in a more pleaſant mood, they intend their own divertiſement: but if any Man be of another Opinion, as *Bacchylides* ſays, *The Way is broad enough* [to leave room for every Man's Sentiments;] for there is no abſurdity in that other Account which Some give of the Proceedings of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, and ſuch other famous Men, *viz.* That being to manage the untractable and froward diſpoſition of the Multitude, and deſigning to introduce great Innovations in their political Eſtabliſhment; they pretended a divine Authority for what they did, as the ſureſt Way of preſerving Thoſe who were thus deceived into their own happineſs. But to return to our purpoſe.

Numa was about forty Years of age when the Ambaſſadors came from *Rome* to make him offers of the Kingdom; the Speakers were *Proculus* and *Veleſus*, two Perſons of ſuch Eminence, that it was thought, ſome time before, the People would have choſen one of them for King; the Party of *Romulus* being zealous for *Proculus*, and the *Tatian* Faction for *Veleſus*. Their Speech was very ſhort, as ſuppoſing that *Numa* would gladly have embraced ſo favourable an opportunity of Advancement; but, it ſeems, it was no ſuch eaſy Matter to perſuade him: but [contrary to their expectation, they found that] they were forc'd to uſe many reaſons and intreaties to allure him from his quiet and retir'd life, to accept the Government of a City, whoſe Foundation was laid in War, and grown up in martial Exerciſes; wherefore, in preſence of his Father, and *Mar-*

tius one of his Kinſmen, he returned anſwer in this manner: " That every alteration of a Man's Life is " dangerous to him; but as for one that neither wants " any ſufficient convenience of Life, nor has any rea- " ſon to find fault with his preſent Circumſtances, no- " thing leſs than mere Madneſs can make ſuch a Man " change, and remove from a State of Life which he " has been long uſed to; which, though there were " nothing more in it, has, however, by being more " ſecure, an advantage over that Condition which is " uncertain what it will prove. But then the Diffi- " culties of this Kingdom are even beyond an Uncer- " tainty, if we may take any meaſures of it by what " befell *Romulus*, who did not eſcape the hard ſuſpi- " cion of having plotted againſt the Life of his Col- " legue *Tatius*; and left the like hard ſuſpicion upon " his Senators, of having been treaſonably murder'd " by them. And yet *Romulus* had the advantage to be " thought of Divine Race, and to have been nurſed " and preſerved after a ſtrange and miraculous manner " in his infancy. But as for me, I am only of mortal " Race, and have been nurſed and educated by Men " well known among you. And the higheſt part of " my Character being an extraordinary deſire of quiet " Retirement, and a conſtant Application to ſuch Stu- " dies as are inconſiſtent with the Affairs of a buſy " Life, is ſuch as renders a Man very unfit to reign. " This earneſt love of Peace, which has always grown " up with me, is fit only for a State that cannot be " expoſed to War, and for Men who aſſemble together, " only to Worſhip the Gods, and to maintain amicable " Converſation; but employ the reſt of their time pri- " vately in tilling their Ground and feeding their Cat- " tle. Whereas *Romulus*, perhaps, may have left you, " oh *Romans!* engaged in unavoidable Wars; and to " bear up againſt them, your State requires an active " and vigorous King. And beſides, your People have " been long accuſtomed to Arms, and Succeſs has en- " couraged this humour; ſo that their ambition of

" advancing

" advancing themſelves, and enlarging their Dominion
" over others, is no longer a Secret. And therefore,
" beſides all other Conſiderations, ſuch a Prince would
" be a mere Jeſt as ſhould go about to inculcate the
" Worſhip of the Gods, and teach an high reverence
" for Juſtice, and a deteſtation of Violence and War,
" to a City that rather required a martial Captain than
" a peaceful King.

The *Romans* perceiving, by theſe Words, that he refuſed to accept the Kingdom, were the more inſtant and urgent with him, beſeeching him that he would not ſuffer them to relapſe into their former ſedition and civil diſcord; [which they muſt unavoidably do, if he accepted not their proffer,] there being no Perſon, on whom both parties could accord, but on himſelf: and at length his Father, and *Martius*, taking him aſide, perſuaded him to accept this Offer, which was ſo important, and rather was conferred from Heaven than from Men. " Tho' (ſaid they) you neither
" deſire Riches, as being ſufficiently content with your
" own Fortune, nor court the ſplendid Fame of Au-
" thority and Power, as having already the more va-
" luable Fame of Virtue; yet you cannot but imagine,
" that the juſt exerciſe of Royalty is the greateſt Ser-
" vice you can perform towards God, who raiſes in
" You this extraordinary Talent of Juſtice, and will
" not allow it to lie idle and uſeleſs. And therefore
" you ought by no means to refuſe or decline the Go-
" vernment, which affords a wiſe Man ſo large a Field
" for great and honourable Actions, in which the
" Worſhip of the Gods may be performed with greater
" Solemnity, and the Minds of Men made more tame
" and pliable to Religion, ſince They are wont to be
" ſooneſt and moſt eaſily formed by the Model of their
" Prince. Even theſe very *Romans* ſhewed a great af-
" fection to *Tatius*, though a Foreigner; and the me-
" mory of *Romulus* is ſo precious to them, that ſince
" his deceaſe, they have voted Divine Honours to be
" paid to him. And now who knows, but that this

" People being victorious, may now think they have " had enough of War; and that being ſatiated with " the Trophies and Spoils they have acquired; they " may gladly entertain a gentle and pacifick Prince, " who being a lover of Juſtice may reduce the City " into a model and courſe of Laws and judicial Pro- " ceedings? And in caſe the affections of this People " ſhould ſtill be inclined to break forth into a furious " and impetuous deſire of War; were it not better to " have the reins held by ſuch a moderating Hand, as " is able to divert the fury another way, and ſpend " itſelf on Foreigners? and to be the Means of unit- " ing both his own native Country, and the whole " *Sabin* Nation, in the ſtricteſt Bonds of love and " friendſhip with ſo flouriſhing and powerful a City.

To theſe reaſons and perſuaſions ſeveral other auſpicious Omens (as is reported) did concur: and when his own Citizens underſtood what Meſſage the *Roman* Ambaſſadors had brought him, they all addreſſed themſelves to him, inſtantly intreating him to go and accept the Offer; being aſſured that it was the only means to appeaſe all civil diſſenſions, and incorporate both People into one Body.

As ſoon as *Numa* was determined by theſe perſuaſions and reaſons, having firſt done Sacrifice to the Gods, he ſet forwards towards *Rome*; being met in his way by the Senate and People, who expreſt a marvellous deſire to receive him. The Women alſo welcom'd him with joyful Acclamations, and Sacrifices were offered for him in all the Temples; and ſo univerſal was the Joy, that the City ſeem'd not to receive a King, but the Addition of a new Kingdom. In this manner he deſcended into the *Forum*, where *Spurius Vetius*, (5) *Interrex*. whoſe turn it was to be (5) Governor at that Hour, putting it to the Vote, whether *Numa* ſhould be King; they all with one Voice and Conſent, cried out, A *Numa*, A *Numa*! Then were the Regalities and Robes of Authority brought to him, but he refuſed to be inveſted with them, until he

he had first consulted and been confirmed by the Gods; so being accompanied by the Priests and (6) *Augurs*, he ascended the Capitol, which at that time the *Romans* called the *Tarpeian* Rock. Then the chief of the *Augurs* covered his Head, and turned his Face towards the South; and, standing behind him, laid his Right-hand on the Head of *Numa*, and prayed, casting his Eyes every way, in expectation of Birds, or some other auspicious Signal from the Gods. It is wonderful to consider with what Silence and Devotion the multitude, which was assembled in the Market-place, stood expecting and longing for an happy event, which was soon determined by the appearance and flight of such Birds as were accounted fortunate. Then *Numa*, apparelling himself in his Royal Robes, descended from the Hill unto the People, by whom he was received, and congratulated with Shouts and Acclamations, and esteem'd by all as a most religious Prince, and most highly beloved of the Gods.

(6) *Southsayers.*

The first thing he did at his entrance into Government was to dismis the Band of three hundred Men, which *Romulus* constantly kept for his Life-guard, and called *Celeres*, [that is *Swift* or *Nimble*;] for he did not think it reasonable to shew any distrust of Those who had placed so much Confidence in him, nor to rule over People that durst not trust him. The next thing he did, was to add to the two Priests of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, a third in Honour of *Romulus*, whom he called *Flamen Quirinalis*. The *Romans* before that time called their Priests *Flamines*, by corruption of the Word *Pilamines*, from certain Caps which they wore, called πῖλοι in *Greek*; for in those times *Greek* Words were more mixed with the *Latin*, than in this Age: So also that Royal Robe, which is called *Læna*, *Juba* will have to be the same as the *Greek Chlæna*; and the Name of *Camillus*, which is given to the (7) blooming Youth that serves in the Temple of *Jupiter*, taken from the same

(7) ἀμφιθαλῆ παῖδα.

ſame Name which ſome of the *Greeks* give to *Mercury*, denoting his ſervice and attendance on the Gods.

When *Numa* had by theſe Actions inſinuated himſelf into the favour and affection of the People, he began to diſpoſe the humour of the City, which as yet was obdurate and rendred hard as Iron by War, to become more gentle and pliable by the Applications of Humanity and Juſtice. It was then, if ever, that *Rome* was really ſuch a City as *Plato* ſtiles (8) *a City in a high Ferment*; for from its very Original it was a Receptacle of the moſt daring and warlike Spirits, whom ſome bold and deſperate Adventure had driven thither from every Quarter; and by frequent Incurſions made upon its Neighbours, and continual Wars, it had grown up, and increaſed its Power, and now ſeemed ſtrong and ſettled by encountring of Dangers, as Piles drove into the Ground become more fixed and ſtable by the impulſe and blows which the Rammer lays upon them. Wherefore *Numa*, judging that it was the Maſter-piece of his Art to mollify and bend the ſtubborn and inflexible Spirits of this People, began to call in the aſſiſtance of the Gods, [or principles of Religion;] for moſt commonly by Sacrifices, Proceſſions, and religious Dances, which he appointed, and in which he officiated in Perſon, which had always ſome diverting Exerciſe, and pleaſing Entertainment mixt with their ſolemn Devotion; he ſoothed the Minds of the People, and render'd their fiery martial Temper more cool and tame. And at ſome times alſo, to affect their Fancies with a fear and reverence of God, he made them believe that ſtrange Apparitions and Viſions were ſeen, and direful threatning Voices heard, whereby he ſubdued their Minds, and rendred them ſubmiſſive by Superſtition.

(8) φλεγμαίνουσαν πόλιν.

This method which *Numa* uſed, made it believ'd that he was much converſant with *Pythagoras*, and that he drew and copied his Learning and Wiſdom from him: For a familiar and conſtant attendance upon the Gods

Gods made a great part both of the Philoſophy of the One, and the Policy of the Other. It is ſaid alſo, that he affected the exterior Garb and Geſtures of *Pythagoras*, and to perſonate him in all his motions. For as it is ſaid of *Pythagoras*, that he had taught an Eagle to come at his lure, and ſtoop at his call; and that as he paſſed through a Crowd of People, aſſembled at the *Olympick* Games, he ſhewed them his Golden Thigh, with many other rare Arts and Feats, which appeared miraculous; upon which *Timon* the *Phliaſian* likewiſe wrote this diſtich:

Pythagoras, *from Magick bent on Glory vain,*
With ſolemn Speeches captivates th' admiring train.

In like manner the part which *Numa* acted was to have it believed that a certain Goddeſs or Mountain Nymph was in love with him, and had frequent Communion with him in private, as was ſaid before, and that he entertain'd familiar Converſation with the Muſes, for to them he aſcribed the greateſt part of his Revelations; and one Muſe in particular above all the reſt he recommended to the Veneration of the *Romans*, to which he gave the Name of *Tacita*, i. e. *Silent* or *Novice*. This looks as if it had been done by one that copied and recommended the *Pythagorean* Doctrine of Silence. His Ordinances alſo about Images are very much akin to the Opinions of *Pythagoras*: For *Pythagoras* ſuppoſed that the firſt [or Supreme] Being, was not ſubject to ſenſe or capable of paſſion, but inviſible, incorruptible, and to be comprehended only by the Mind; and *Numa* forbad the *Romans* to repreſent God in the form of Man or Beaſt; nor was there any painted or graven Image of a Deity admitted among them formerly: but for the ſpace of the firſt hundred and ſixty Years they built Temples and erected Chapels, but made no Statue or Image, as thinking it a great impiety to repreſent the moſt excellent Beings, by things ſo baſe and unworthy; there being no poſ-

ſible

ſible acceſs to the Deity but by the Mind raiſed and elevated by Divine Contemplation. His Sacrifices alſo had great ſimilitude with the Holy Offerings of *Pythagoras*; for they were not celebrated with effuſion of Blood, but conſiſted moſtly of the Flower of Wheat and libations of Wine, and ſuch other things as were moſt eaſy to be had. But beſides theſe, they who will needs have thoſe two great Men to have been intimate Acquaintance, take pains to prove it by other more remote inſtances. One of which is, that the *Romans* made *Pythagoras* free of their City, as *Epicharmus* the Comick Poet, an ancient Author and Scholar of *Pythagoras*, relates in a certain Treatiſe dedicated to *Antenor*; that *Numa* gave to one of his four Sons the Name of *Mamercus*, which was the Name of one of the Sons of *Pythagoras*; and from him, they ſay, is ſprung that ancient *Patrician* Family of the *Æmilians*, for that the King ſuperadded the Sirname of *Æmilius*, to denote the Softneſs of his Words, and the Gracefulneſs of his Speech. And I myſelf remember that when I was at *Rome*, I heard Many ſay, that when the Oracle directed two Statues to be raiſed, one to the Wiſeſt, and another to the moſt Valiant Man of *Greece*, they preſently erected two of Braſs in the *Forum*, one repreſenting *Alcibiades*, and the other *Pythagoras*. But to inſiſt longer either in removing or confirming an opinion about theſe matters, which are ſo full of doubt and uncertainty, would be purſuing an impertinent and childiſh Controverſy.

The Original Inſtitution and appointment of the Chief-Prieſts, who are called *Pontifices*, is generally aſcribed to *Numa*; and 'tis ſaid that he himſelf was the firſt that was made one of them. The reaſon why they were called *Pontifices*, Some will have to be becauſe they attend the Service of the Gods, who have Power and Dominion over all things: For him that is Powerful the *Romans* call *Potens*. Others ſay the Name was given by way of abatement or exception in reſpect of things *poſſible* to be done, as if it were becauſe the

Lawgiver

Lawgiver commanded the Prieſts to perform all Such divine Offices as were poſſible, not charging them with a fault when they were hindred by any great and urgent impediment. But the greateſt part of Authors approve that Account of the Name which to me ſeems moſt ridiculous, as if theſe *Pontifices* were ſo called only as *Bridge-makers*, upon account of Sacrifices made upon the *Bridge*, which are lookt upon as the moſt ſacred and of greateſt Antiquity; for the *Latins* call a Bridge *Pontem*, the keeping and repairing whereof belong'd as much to the care of the Prieſts, as the moſt indiſpenſible and accuſtomed Sacrifices: for that the *Romans* did not think it lawful, but an execrable impiety, to demoliſh the (9) *Wooden Bridge*. 'Tis moreover ſaid that by appointment of the Oracle, it was to be only of Timber, and faſtned with Wooden Pins, without Nails or Cramps of Iron: But the Stone Bridge was built many ages after, when *Æmilius* was Queſtor: However there are ſome who ſay that this ſame Wooden Bridge was not ſo old as the time of *Numa*, but was finiſhed by King *Ancus Martius*, who was Grandſon of *Numa* by his Daughter.

(9) Pons Sublicius *in Latin.*

The Chief of theſe *Pontifices* [or *Pontifex Maximus*] bore the Office of an Interpreter of Religion, or Prophet, or rather of a Preſident of Sacred Rites, who had not only the Care of the publick Ceremonies, but alſo the Overſight of ſuch as offer'd Sacrifice in private, not ſuffering them to vary from the Orders eſtabliſhed by Law, but directing what was neceſſary for any one either in worſhipping or ſupplicating the Gods. He was alſo (1) Overſeer of the Holy Virgins called *Veſtals*. For to *Numa* do Men attribute the ſacred inſtitution of *Veſtal Virgins*, and the religious manner of ordering the perpetual Fire which was in their keeping, either becauſe it was thought proper that ſuch a pure and uncorrupt Subſtance as that of fire ſhould be committed to the care of Perſons whoſe Bodies were chaſte and unpolluted,

(1) ἐπίσκοπος.

unpolluted, or becauſe its being unfruitful and producing nothing, alludes beſt to the ſterile Condition of Virgins: for even in *Greece* wherever perpetual holy Fire is kept, as at *Delphi* and *Athens*, the care of it is committed not to Virgins but to Widows, who are paſt the Years and Deſires of Marriage. And in caſe by any accident it ſhould happen that this Fire becomes extinct, (as the Holy Lamp was at *Athens*, under the Tyranny of *Ariſtion*; and at *Delphi*, when that Temple was burnt by the *Medes*; and at *Rome*, in the time of the War with *Mithridates*; and of their own civil Wars, when not only the Fire was extinguiſhed, but the Altar demoliſh'd) They ſay it is not lawful to light it again from any other Fire, but it muſt be made new and freſh, by kindling a pure and unpolluted flame from the Sun. This flame they generally kindle by means of certain Diſhes, which being poliſhed Concave are adjuſted ſo as to make two equal ſides of a Rectangular Triangle, and incline alike to one common centre [or *Focus*] from the whole circumference: and when they are placed againſt the Sun in ſuch a poſition that the reflected rays are collected and united at the centre, then they rarify the Air, and by reverberation immediately kindle the lighteſt and drieſt parts of the fuel applied, the Sun-beams thus acquiring the force and violence of Fire. Some are of Opinion that theſe Veſtals had no other Care or Buſineſs than the Conſervation of this Fire; but Some conceive, that they were Keepers of other Divine Secrets, which are concealed and hidden from all others but themſelves; of which we have made mention in the Life of *Camillus*, ſo far as Reſpect to Religion would allow us either to know or relate. It is reported, that at firſt only two Virgins were conſecrated by *Numa*, whoſe Names were *Gegania* and *Verania*; but ſoon after two more, *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia*: But to theſe *Servius* afterwards added two more, the which number [of Six] hath continued to this our Age.

It

It was preſcribed by the King that theſe holy Virgins ſhould vow to keep an unſpotted Chaſtity for the ſpace of thirty Years; the firſt ten whereof they were [as in their Noviciate] obliged to learn the Ceremonies and Rules of their Religion; then for other ten Years they exerciſed the Sacerdotal Function, and practiſed what they had learnt before: and the remaining ten they employed in teaching and inſtructing others. Then the whole term being compleated, ſhe that pleaſed was allowed to marry, and to betake herſelf to any other kind of life, quitting the exerciſe of the ſacred Function. But it is ſaid that there were but few who ever choſe to make uſe of this Liberty, and that Thoſe who did, were never happy, but wore out the reſt of their lives in continual Regret and Melancholy, which threw the others into ſuch a ſuperſtitious Fear of the like, that they choſe to continue till old Age and the hour of Death in their ſtrict Rules and ſingle Life.

But this ſevere Condition was recompenſed by other Privileges and Prerogatives; ſuch as Theſe for Inſtance, That they had Power to make a Teſtament in the Life-time of their Father; That they had a free Adminiſtration of their own Affairs without Guardian or Tutor, which was the Privilege of Women who were the Mothers of three Children: When they went abroad, they had the *Faſces* carried before them; and if perchance in their Walks abroad it were their fortune to meet a Malefactor leading to Execution, he was immediately freed from Death, provided the *Veſtal* made Oath, that the occaſion of meeting was accidental, and undeſigned, not of ſet purpoſe. Whoſoever went under the Chair on which they were carried, was guilty of a Capital Crime, and immediately puniſhed with Death.

If thoſe Veſtals committed any other Faults they were puniſhable with Whipping, which Puniſhment was inflicted by the High-Prieſt only, who ſometimes [as the nature of the Offence required] whipped them naked in a dark place, and under the Caution of a Veil or Curtain; but

but ſhe that had been defiled, or permitted herſelf to be defloured, was buried Alive near the Gate which is called *Collina*; where within the City a little Mount of Earth is raiſed, reaching a good way in length; called in *Latin Agger*; under it is a little Cell, to which a deſcent is made by Stairs: Here they prepare a Bed, and light up a Lamp, and provide a ſmall quantity of Victuals, ſuch as Bread, Water in a Bottle, Milk and Oil: that ſo that Body, which had been conſecrated and devoted to the moſt Divine and Myſterious Service, might not be ſaid to periſh by a Death ſo deteſtable as that of Famine. The Party thus condemned, is carried to Execution through the Market-place in a Litter, wherein ſhe is covered, and bound with Cords, ſo that the Voice of her Cries and Laments cannot be heard; all People with ſilence go out of the way as ſhe paſſes, and ſuch as follow accompany the Bier with ſolemn and tacit Sorrow: and indeed there is not a more dreadful ſpectacle than this, nor any day in which the City puts on ſo great an appearance of Sorrow, as on this Occaſion. When the Litter comes to the place of Execution, the Officers looſe the Cords; and then the High Prieſt, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, and muttering ſome certain Prayers to himſelf juſt before the fatal Minute, leads out the Priſoner who is ſtill covered, and places her upon the ſteps which lead down to her Houſe of darkneſs: which being done, he retires with the reſt of the Prieſts, and when ſhe is gone down the Ladder is drawn up, and the Cell is covered with a great deal of Earth thrown upon it, ſo as to make it equal with the reſt of the *Agger*. And this was the Puniſhment of Thoſe who broke their Vow of Virginity. It is ſaid alſo that *Numa* built the Temple of *Veſta*, which was intended for a Conſervatory of the Holy Fire, in an Orbicular form, not with a deſign to repreſent the figure of the Earth, as if That were *Veſta*, but the Frame of the Univerſe, in the Center of which the *Pythagoreans* place the Element of Fire, and give it the Name of *Veſta* and Unity: But they do not hold that the Earth is immovable,

vable, or that it is ſituated in the middle Region of the World about it; but keeps a circular motion about the ſeat of Fire. Nor do they account the Earth among the chief or primary Elements: And this, they ſay, was the Opinion of *Plato*, who in his mature and Philoſophical Age, held that the Earth was placed at a diſtance from the Center, for that the middle or principal place was reſerved for ſome more noble and refined Body.

Theſe *Pontifices* [or Chief Prieſts] were to have the principal direction, where occaſion required, of the Rites to be obſerved at Funerals: *Numa* having taught them that they ſhould not think they contracted any uncleanneſs by ſuch things, but ſhould perform the uſual Service to the Infernal Gods, who then received the principal part of what properly belongs to us, but more particularly to the Goddeſs called *Libitina*, who preſided over the holy Ceremonies performed about the deceaſed; whether they meant hereby *Proſerpina*, or (as ſome of the moſt learned *Romans* will have it) *Venus*: for they, not without good reaſon, attributed the beginning and end of Man's Life to the ſame Original Cauſe and Virtue of a Deity.

Numa alſo preſcribed Rules for regulating the Days of Mourning, according to certain Times and Ages. As for example, not to mourn at all for a Child under three Years old; nor for one older, more than ſo many Months at It was Years old, as far as ten. But the longeſt time of Mourning for any Perſon whatſoever was not to exceed the term of ten Months; which alſo was the time appointed for Women who had buried their Huſbands to continue in the ſtate of Widowhood. And ſhe that married again before that time was over was obliged by the Laws of *Numa* to ſacrifice a Cow big with Calf [for Expiation of her Fault.]

Numa alſo was Founder of ſeveral other Orders of Prieſts; two of which are worthy to be here mentioned, namely, the *Salli* and the *Fetiales*; which with other Inſtances, are clear Proofs of the great Piety and Reli-

gion of this Perſon. Theſe *Fetiales*, being in my Opinion a ſort of Conſervators of the Peace (or what the *Greeks* call Εἰρηνοφυλάκες) and having their Name from their Office, determined all Controverſies by Word of Mouth: for they would not allow Arms to be taken up, until they had declared all Hopes and Expedients rejected which tended to an Accommodation: By the word [Εἰρήνη, or] Peace, the *Greeks* mean a Determination of Matters in diſpute by Reaſon or Diſcourſe, and not by Violence or Force. Now theſe *Fetiales* of the *Romans* were frequently diſpatched to Thoſe who had offered them Injury, requiring reaſonable Satisfaction; and in caſe they made not a reaſonable Return, they then called the Gods to witneſs againſt them, and uſed many bitter imprecations both upon themſelves and their Country if their undertaking were not juſt, and ſo denounced War. The Senſe of the *Fetiales* in this caſe was of abſolute neceſſity, for without their Conſent it was neither lawful for any private Soldier, nor even the *Roman* King himſelf, to take up Arms, and from Them the General took his Rules concerning the Juſtice of his Cauſe, which being adjudged, and the War determined, then he was to deliberate of the fitteſt manner and ways to manage and carry it on. It is believ'd, that the Slaughter and Deſtruction which the *Gauls* made of the *Romans*, was a juſt Judgment on the City for neglect of this religious Proceeding: For it happen'd that as this barbarous Nation was beſieging the *Cluſinians*, *Fabius Ambuſtus* was diſpatched to their Camp with Propoſitions of Peace in favour of the beſieged; but receiving a rude and peremptory Anſwer thereunto, and therefore imagining that his Treaty was at an end, and that he had fully complied with the duty of his Embaſſy; he raſhly took Arms for the *Cluſians*, and challenged the ſtouteſt and braveſt of the Enemy to a ſingle Combat. It was the fortune of *Fabius* to kill his Adverſary, and to take his Spoils; which when the *Gauls* underſtood, they ſent a Herald to *Rome* to complain againſt *Fabius*, who, before a War was publiſhed, had, againſt the Law of Nations,

Nations, made a breach of the Peace. The matter being debated in the Senate, the *Fetiales* were of Opinion, that *Fabius* ought to be conſigned into the Hands of the *Gauls*: but he, being preadviſed of this Judgment, fled to the People, by whoſe Protection and Favour he was ſecured, and eſcaped the Sentence. And ſoon after this the *Gauls* marched with their Army to *Rome*, where they ſacked the whole City, except the Capitol: The particulars of all which are at large related in the Life of *Camillus*.

But as to the Prieſts called *Salii*, they are ſaid to have been inſtituted upon the following occaſion. In the eighth Year of the Reign of *Numa*, a terrible Peſtilence, which was ſpread over all *Italy*, did likewiſe miſerably infeſt the City of *Rome*: at which the Citizens being greatly afrighted, and deſpairing of Health, it is reported that a brazen Target fell from Heaven into the Hands of *Numa*; and that the King himſelf gave this wonderful account of it, which he had learnt from the Nymph *Egeria* and the *Muſes*, that That Target was ſent from Heaven for the Cure and Safety of the City; and that it was to be kept with the greateſt care imaginable, which was to be done by making eleven others, ſo like in all dimenſions and form to the Original, that in caſe there ſhould be a deſign to ſteal it away, the true one which fell from Heaven might not be diſtinguiſhed or known from Thoſe which were counterfeited; he farther declared that he was commanded to conſecrate that Place and the Meadows about it to the *Muſes*, where he had often entertained a free intercourſe and communication with them; and that the Fountain which watered that Field ſhould be made ſacred, and hollowed for the uſe of the Veſtal Virgins, who were daily to waſh and cleanſe the *Penetralia* of their Sanctuary with thoſe Holy Waters. It is ſaid that the truth hereof was ſpeedily verified by a miraculous ceſſation of the Peſtilence; whereupon *Numa* immediately produced the Target, and commanded the beſt Artiſts to try their ſkill, and vie with each other in making an exact likeneſs: but all the reſt deſpaired of coming up to

it; only one *Veturius Mamurius*, an excellent Maſter, happily hit upon it, and made one ſo to repreſent the other in all reſpects, that *Numa* himſelf was at a ſtand, and could not diſtinguiſh the true from that which was counterfeited. The keeping of which Targets was committed to the care of theſe Prieſts called *Salii*; who did not receive their name, as ſome imagine, from one *Salius*, who was born at *Samothrace*, or at *Mantinea*, who taught the way of dancing in Arms; but rather from that kind of jumping Dance which the *Salii* themſelves uſe, when in the Month of *March* they carry the ſacred Targets through the City: at which Proceſſion they were habited in a ſhort ſcarlet Caſſock, girt with a broad Belt claſp'd with braſs Buckles; on their heads they wore a Copper Helmet, and ever and anon ſounded on the Targets with ſhort Scimitars: in this manner they proceeded with a nimble motion, and juſt meaſures of their Feet, and with ſuch handſom and various turns, as demonſtrated great ſtrength and agility of Body. Theſe Targets were called *Ancylia* from the faſhion of them; for they were not made round, nor was their Circumference of the ſame figure as the Shields called *Peltæ*; but were cut after the manner of a (6) Spiral line, the Extremities of which having certain flexures and foldings into one another, make a Curve figure, (in *Greek* ἀγκύλον;) or elſe they might be ſo named from the *Cubit*, (which is from the Wriſt to the Elbow,) called in *Greek* ἀγκών, on which they carry theſe *Ancylia*. Theſe are the accounts which *Juba* gives of them, out of his great deſire to make the Name *Greek*. But (if the Name muſt needs be derived from the *Greek* Tongue) it may as well come from ἀνέχαθεν ῥοιζᾶς, which ſignifies as much as Sent from above; or from ἄκεσος, which is Cure or Medicine of Diſeaſes; or from αὐχμῶν λύσις, which is a Deliverance from great drineſs; or from ἀνάσχεσις, which is an Eſcape from great evils; whence it is that the *Athenians* called *Caſtor* and *Pollux* Ἀνακας. It is reported

(6) γραμμῆς ἑλικοειδοῦς.

ported that the Reward which *Mamurius* received for this his Art, was to be mentioned and commemorated in a Song which the *Salii* ſang as they danced in their Arms through the City. Some will have it that they ſung *Veturium Mamurium*, but Others ſay it was *Veterem Memoriam*, which is *Ancient Remembrance*.

After *Numa* had in this manner inſtituted theſe ſeveral Orders of Prieſts, he erected a Royal Palace near the Temple of *Veſta*, called to this day *Regia*; where he ſpent the moſt part of his time in the buſineſs of Religion, either inſtructing the Prieſts, or out of zeal and devotion to divine Matters, entertaining himſelf with their Converſation. He had alſo another Houſe upon the Mount *Quirinalis*; the place where it ſtood they ſhew to this Day. In all publick Proceſſions, and in general in all Proceſſions of the Prieſts, Heralds were ſent before to give notice to the People, that they ſhould keep Holiday, and forbear their ordinary Labour. For as they ſay that the *Pythagoreans* did not allow Men to Worſhip or make Prayers to the Gods, as it were by the bye, but obliged them to go directly from their Houſes with Minds prepared for the very purpoſe: So *Numa* in like manner decreed, that his Citizens ſhould neither ſee nor hear Divine matters in a perfunctory manner, and with wandring thoughts; but laying aſide all other affairs of the World, ſhould apply and elevate their Meditations to Religion, as a buſineſs of the greateſt Moment: and that the Streets ſhould be clear of noiſe or hammering, or crying and groaning, and all ſuch Obſtructions as are the uſual Effects of manual Labour, that no diſturbance might be given to the holy Solemnity. Something of this Cuſtom remains at *Rome* to this day; for when the Conſul is employed either in taking an Augury, or ſacrificing, they call out to the People, *Hoc age*, or *attend to the work in hand*, whereby the Auditors then preſent are admoniſhed to recollect and compoſe themſelves. And many other of his Inſtitutions have a great reſemblance to thoſe of the *Pythagoreans*; for as they had ſuch Precepts as theſe, *Thou ſhalt not make a Peck-Meaſure thy Seat to ſit on: Thou*

ſhalt not ſtir the Fire with a Sword: When thou goeſt out upon a Journey, look not behind thee: When thou ſacrificeſt to the Celeſtial Gods, let it be with an odd number; and when to the Terreſtrial, let it be with even; the Meaning of which they would not diſcloſe to the Vulgar: So ſome of *Numa*'s Inſtitutions have a ſecret and abſtruſe Meaning; ſuch as theſe: *Thou ſhalt not ſacrifice to the Gods an Offering of Wine proceeding from a Vine which was never pruned. No Sacrifices ſhall be performed without Meal. Turn round in adoration of the Gods*, and *Sit down when you have worſhipped.* The two firſt Precepts ſeem to teach the cultivating the Fruits of the Earth as a part of Religion; and as to the Turning which the Worſhippers are to uſe in divine Adoration, it is ſaid to be in imitation of the circular motion of the World. But in my opinion, the meaning rather is, that becauſe the Temples looking (or opening) towards the Eaſt, he who comes in to worſhip turns his Back upon the riſing Sun, he ſhould change his poſture, and turn about towards the God: Thus making a Round, and finiſhing his Prayer on both hands. Unleſs, perhaps, this change of Poſture may have a myſtical Meaning like the *Ægyptian* Wheels, and ſignify to us the inſtability of human Fortune; and that which way ſoever God ſhould change and turn our Condition of Life, we ſhould be pleaſed and ſatisfied with our Lot. As to the ſitting quiet and in a repoſed poſture after Worſhip, they ſay it denoted a conceſſion, or grant of the Petitions they made, and an aſſurance of the Continuance of good things for the future. And they ſay likewiſe that Ceſſation from work was the full ſtop or period of buſineſs already performed: from whence now deſigning to begin others, they were to preſent themſelves before the Gods, to obtain their bleſſings, and ſucceſs on that which was to follow. And this form of Ceremony did very well ſute with the preceding Doctrine: For by this the Lawgiver teaches us not to ſupplicate the Gods in a hurry, or tranſiently, as if we were in haſte; but when we have time and leiſure from worldly

worldly buſineſs. By ſuch diſcipline as this in reſpect of the Deity, the City became ſo tame, and ſtood in ſuch awe and reverence of the power of *Numa*, that they received and believed the moſt abſurd Fables, and thought nothing incredible or impoſſible, which he thought fit to deliver.

There goes a ſtory, That he once invited a great number of Citizens to an Entertainment, at which the Diſhes in which the Meat was ſerved were very homely and plain, and the Commons ſhort, and the Meat ill dreſſed. The Gueſts being ſat, he began to tell them, that the Goddeſs which was his familiar Spirit, and always converſant with him, was then juſt a coming in, when on a ſudden the Room was furniſhed with all ſorts of precious Pots and Diſhes, and the mean Fare converted into a moſt magnificent Feaſt, adorned with all ſorts of the moſt delicious Viands. But the Dialogue which is reported to have paſſed between him and *Jupiter*, ſurpaſſes all the fabulous Legends that were ever invented. The Story goes, that before Mount *Aventine* was inhabited or incloſed within the Walls of the City, while it was full of Springs and ſhady Groves, two Demi-gods, *Picus* and *Faunus*, did uſe to frequent it, which in other reſpects one would gueſs to have been *Satyrs*, or of the *Titanian* race, except only that they went about *Italy* ſhowing wonderful Feats by the virtue of Pharmacy and the power of Magical Charms, in the ſame manner as thoſe whom the *Greeks* call the *Dactyli* of Mount *Ida*. *Numa* contriving one day to ſurpriſe theſe Demi-gods, mingled the Waters of the Fountain, of which they did uſually drink, with Wine and Honey, which ſo pleaſed theſe liquoriſh Deities, that he eaſily enſnared and took them: they changed themſelves into many various forms and ſhapes, intending, under horrid and unknown tranſmutations, to make their eſcape; but when they found themſelves entrapped in inextricable toils, and in no poſſibility to get free, they revealed unto him many ſecrets and future events; and particularly an expiatory Charm for Thunder and Lightning, which they compoſed of Onions and Hair, and Pilchards:

chards: But ſome ſay, that theſe Demi-gods did not diſcover the ſecret of this Charm to *Numa*; but that by the force of their Magick Art and Spells, they conſtrained *Jove* himſelf to deſcend from Heaven to ſatisfy the demands of *Numa*; and that he then, in an angry manner anſwering his enquiries, told him, That *if he would charm the Thunder and Lightning, he muſt do it with his Heads. How*, ſaid *Numa*, *with the Heads of Onions? No*, reply'd *Jupiter*, *of Men.* But *Numa*, willing to divert the cruelty of this Receipt, turned it another way, ſaying, *Your meaning is, the Hairs of Mens Heads: No*, reply'd *Jupiter*, *of living*——Pilchards, quoth *Numa*, interrupting him. Theſe Anſwers he was taught to make by the Goddeſs *Egeria*. Hereupon, they ſay, *Jupiter* went away pacified [or propitious;] and that from his being ſo, the place was called *Ilicius*: and thus was this Expiatory Charm effected.

Theſe fabulous and ridiculous Stories ſerve to ſhew the ſuperſtitious humour of that Age in reſpect of Religion, which Cuſtom had wrought into them; and even *Numa* himſelf is ſaid to have been poſſeſſed with ſuch a confidence and fiducial truſt in the Gods, that when it was told him, that the Enemy was coming, he only ſmiled, and ſaid, *And I am ſacrificing*. He is alſo ſaid to have been the firſt that built a Temple to *Faith*, and to *Terminus*; and to have taught the *Romans*, that Faith was the greateſt Oath they could ſwear by, which they continue to uſe to this day. *Terminus* is as it were the God of *Bounds*, and to him they do ſacrifice both publick and private, upon the borders [or boundaries] of their lands. Now, indeed, they ſacrifice living Creatures; but anciently thoſe Sacrifices were ſolemnized without Blood, it being the Doctrine of *Numa*, that the God of Bounds, who was a keeper of Peace and witneſs of Juſtice among them, ought to be kept pure and unpolluted from blood and ſlaughter. It is very clear, that it was This King who firſt preſcribed Bounds to the Territories of *Rome*; for *Romulus* would never go about to make ſo plain a Confeſſion how much

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he had incroached on his Neighbours Lands, as he muſt have done by ſetting Limits to his Own; for as Bounds are Fences and Curbs againſt arbitrary Invaſions, to Thoſe who obſerve them, ſo they ſerve for Evidences [to ariſe in Judgment] againſt Thoſe, who break over [and violate the borders with which they are circumſcribed.] The truth is, the Portion of Lands which belonged to the City of *Rome*, at the beginning, was very narrow; but *Romulus* by War enlarged it very much. Now all this Land *Numa* divided amongſt the indigent part of the Citizens, that by this means he might keep them from extreme Want, which is the neceſſary Cauſe of Mens injuring one another; and might turn the Minds of the People to Huſbandry, whereby Themſelves as well as their Land would become better cultivated and more tractable. For there is no way of Life that either ſo ſoon or ſo powerfully produces the love of Peace, as the life of Huſbandry, whereby ſo much Warlike Courage is preſerved as enables Men to fight in defence of what is their Own, but all boldneſs in acts of Injuſtice and Incroachment upon Others is reſtrained and deſtroyed. Wherefore *Numa*, that he might take and amuſe the Hearts of his Citizens with Agriculture or Huſbandry, choofing it for them as an Employment that rather begets Civility and a peaceable Temper than great Opulency and Riches, divided all the Lands into ſeveral parcels, to which he gave the name of *Pagus* or Borough, and over each of them he appointed Overſeers, and ſuch as ſhould go about and inſpect them. And ſometimes he would himſelf in Perſon take a Survey of them; and making a Judgment of every Man's Inclinations and Manners, by his Induſtry, and the Improvements he had made, he prefer'd Thoſe to Honours and Authority who had merited moſt; and on the contrary, reproaching and chiding the ſluggiſhneſs of Such, as had given themſelves over to a careleſs and a negligent Life, he reduced them to better Order. But among all his political Inſtitutions, That which is moſt admired is his diſtribution of the People into Companies, according to their

their ſeveral Arts and Profeſſions. For whereas the City did conſiſt of, or rather was diſtinguiſh'd (as we have ſaid) into two Kinds of People, and could not by any means be united, it being impoſſible to efface the ſtrangeneſs and difference between them; but that there would be perpetual Claſhing and Contention of the two Parties: Having conſidered that hard Bodies, and ſuch as are not eaſily incorporated ſo long as they remain in their groſs bulk, by being beaten into a Powder, or reduced into ſmall Atoms, are often cemented and conſolidated into One: He determined to divide the whole People into many leſſer parts, and from thence by caſting them into other Diſtinctions, to aboliſh that firſt and great Diſtinction, which was thus ſcattered into ſmaller parts. This diſtribution was made acccording to the ſeveral Arts, or Trades, of Muſicians, Goldſmiths, Maſons, Dyers, Shoe-makers, Tanners, Braſiers and Potters; and all other Handy-crafts-men he compoſed and reduced into a ſingle Company, appointing unto every one their reſpective Halls, Courts, and Ceremonies of Religion proper to their ſeveral Societies. Thus it was, that he firſt baniſhed out of the City the Cuſtom of calling and reputing one a *Sabine*, another a *Roman*, one a *Partiſan* of *Tatius*, another of *Romulus*; ſo that this diſtribution became the means of well uniting and mixing all of them perfectly together.

Among the reſt of his political Inſtitutions is likewiſe highly commended his Amendment of that Law, which gives power to Fathers to ſell their Children; for he exempted ſuch as were married from that Subjection, conditionally that they had match'd themſelves with the liking and conſent of their Parents: for it ſeemed very hard and unjuſt, that a Woman, who had given herſelf in Marriage to a Man whom ſhe judged free, ſhould afterwards find herſelf bound to live with a Slave.

He attempted alſo ſomething towards reforming the Calendar, which though it was not perfectly exact, yet was it not without ſome degree of Skill: For during the Reign of *Romulus*, they made uſe

uſe of Months which had no certain Rule or Meaſure; for to ſome of them they aſſigned ſcarce ſo much as 20 Days, but to others 35, and to others more. But they had no Notion of the difference between the motions of the Sun and Moon: only they kept to this account, that the whole Courſe of the Year contained 360 Days. But *Numa* obſerving that there was eleven Days difference [between the Lunary and the Solar Year;] for that the Moon compleated her anniverſary Courſe in 354 Days, and the Sun in 365: to remedy this Inequality, he doubled the eleven Days, and every other Year he added an Intercalary Month of two and twenty Days, which the *Romans* called the Month of *Mercidinus*: but this his Amendment of the irregularity did in time require a further Amendment. He alſo alter'd the order of the Months: for *March*, which was reckon'd the firſt, he put into the third place; and *January*, which in the time of *Romulus* was the eleventh, he made the firſt; and *February*, which was the twelfth and laſt, to be the ſecond. Some will have it, that *Numa* entirely added the two Months of *January* and *February*: and that Originally they uſed but ten Months in the Year; as ſome Barbarous Nations had only Three: and among the *Greeks* the *Arcadians* had only Four, and the *Acarnanians* Six. The *Ægyptian* Year (they ſay) conſiſted at firſt of one Month, afterwards of four. And therefore, though they inhabit a New Country, yet they ſeem to be a very Antient People, and reckon an incredible Number of Years in their Chronology, becauſe they account Months for Years. And that the *Romans* at firſt comprehended the whole Year within ten, and not twelve Months, may be gueſſed from the Name of that which is laſt in Order; for to this Day they call it *December*, [*i. e.* the tenth Month;] and that *March* was the firſt is likewiſe evident, for that the fifth Month after it was called *Quintilis*, and the ſixth *Sextilis*, and ſo the reſt: For if *January* and *February* had in this Account preceded *March*, the forementioned Month [*Quintilis*] would be the *fifth* in Name, but the *ſeventh* in

in order of reckoning: And beſides, it is very probable that the Month of *March*, which was by *Romulus* dedicated to *Mars*, was named Firſt, and the Second *April*, ſo called from *Aphrodite*, [or *Venus*] for in this Month the Women ſacrifice to that Goddeſs, and are bathed on the Calends, or firſt Days of it, with Myrtle Garlands on their Heads. But Others ſay, *Aprilis* is not from *Aphrodite*, but being with a ſingle *p*, they rather deduce the Name of the Month from the Word *Aperio*, which in *Latin* ſignifies *to open*, becauſe that this Month is in the high Spring, when all Buds and Flowers open and diſcloſe themſelves: The next is called *May*, from *Maia* [the Mother of *Mercury*,] for to *Mercury* this Month was made ſacred: then *June* follows, ſo call'd from *Juventas*, [or the Youthful Seaſon of the Year.] But there are Some who ſay, that theſe two Months have their Names from the two Ages, *Old* and *Young*, for in *Latin* the Older Men are called *Majores*, and the Younger *Juniores*. To the other Months alſo they gave Denominiations according to their Order, ſo the fifth was called *Quintilis*, *Sextilis* the ſixth; and ſo the reſt, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*. Afterwards *Quintilis* was called *July* from the Name of that *Cæſar* who overcame *Pompey*; as alſo *Sextilis* was called *Auguſt*, from the Second *Cæſar*, who was named *Auguſtus*. *Domitian* alſo, in imitation hereof, gave the two other following Months his two Names, [of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*,] for a little while; but, he being ſlain, they recovered their ancient Denominations of *September* and *October*; but the two laſt, *i. e. November* and *December*, have only kept the Names of the Order in which they ſtand, without alteration from the beginning. As for the Months which were either added, or at leaſt tranſpoſed in their order, by *Numa*, *February* may be lookt upon as the Month of *Purification*, for ſo the Name [which comes from the Word *Februo*] ſignifies, and then it is they make expiation for the Plants, and celebrate the Feaſt of *Lupercalia*, in which many Ceremonies agree with the Solemnities uſed on the Luſtrations

tions or Cleanſing Days: And *January*, the firſt Month, is ſo call'd from *Janus*; and it ſeems to me very probable that *Numa* removed the Month of *March*, (which is ſo called from *Mars*) out of its precedency [and aſſigned it to *January*] with a deſign to ſignify his prefering Political Virtues before Martial, in all reſpects. For this *Janus* in Antient times, whether he were Demigod or King, being a great Politician and one that ſtudied the good of Society, is ſaid to have changed the brutiſh and wild Natures of Men into a gentle and civil diſpoſition; for which reaſon they figure him with two Faces, beholding at the ſame time the two different States and Conſtitutions of Human-kind. He has a Temple at *Rome* with two Gates, which they call the Gates of War: For it is the Cuſtom for this Temple to ſtand open in the time of War, and ſhut in the times of Peace; of which latter there was very ſeldom an Example: for when the *Roman* Empire was enlarged and extended to its utmoſt bounds, it was ſo encompaſſed with barbarous Nations and Enemies, that it was ſeldom or never at Peace. Only in the time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, after he had overcome *Anthony*, that Temple was ſhut: As likewiſe once before for a little time, when *Marcus Atilius* and *Titus Manlius* were Conſuls; but then it continued not ſo long, before that Wars breaking out, it was again opened: But during the Reign of *Numa* it was never ſeen open one day, but continued conſtantly ſhut for forty three Years together. So entire a Ceſſation of all kind of War was there on all Sides. For not only the People of *Rome* were tamed, and as it were charmed by the juſt and mild Government of their Prince, but even the Neighbouring Cities round about (as if ſome gentle Breeze or ſalubrious Air had blown from *Rome* upon them) begun to change their Temper; and a general inclination to Peace and good Government was infuſed into all, ſo that every one apply'd himſelf to the Management of his Lands and Farm, to the quiet Education of his Children, and Worſhip of the Gods: Feſtival Days, and pleaſant Banquets, mutual Benevo-

lence and kind Entertainment of Friends viſiting and converſing freely with each other, without fear or jealouſy, were the common Practice over all *Italy*, while from *Numa*'s Wiſdom, as from a Fountain, an univerſal Honeſty and Juſtice flowed upon all, and his calm Tranquillity diffuſed itſelf around every way. So that the high and Hyperbolical expreſſions of the Poets are ſaid to fall ſhort in deſcribing the happy ſtate of thoſe Days;

When Spears, and Swords, and direful Arms of War
Were laid aſide, and ruſtied in their places;
No Trumpet Sounds alarm'd the publick Peace,
But all ſecurely ſlept ———

For during the whole Reign of *Numa*, there was neither War, nor Sedition, nor Innovation deſigned againſt the State; nor even ſo much as any enmity or envy to the Perſon of the Prince: nor was there any Plot or Conſpiracy out of ambitious deſign to out him of his Government. But either the fear of the Gods who ſeemed to take a particular Care of his Perſon; or a Reverence for his Virtue: or Divine good Fortune, which, during his time, kept Mens Lives free and pure from all ſuch Wickedneſs; then produced an effectual inſtance and proof of the truth of that Opinion of *Plato* which he ventured to deliver many Ages after, in relation to a well-formed Commonwealth, *viz. That the only means to cauſe a true Ceſſation, or Cure of Evil among Men, muſt be from ſome divine Conjuncture of Fortune, when Royal Authority meeting with a Philoſophical Mind in the ſame Perſon, ſhall put Virtue in a ſtate of Power and Superiority over Vice.* For the Wiſe Man is truly happy: and happy alſo are they who can hear and receive the Words which flow from the Mouth of a Wiſe Man. Poſſibly there would be no need of Compulſion or Menaces to ſubject the Multitude; but that when they ſee Virtue in a clear and ſhining inſtance manifeſted in the life of their Prince, they would freely of themſelves grow wiſe,

wiſe, and conform themſelves to an innocent and happy life, in friendſhip and mutual Concord, with Juſtice and Moderation, wherein conſiſts the nobleſt end of all political Government, and that Prince is of all others moſt worthy of Royal Authority who can bring to effect ſuch a life and ſuch a diſpoſition in his Subjects. Now this is what *Numa* ſeems to have had conſtantly in his view more than any other Man.

As to his Children and Wives, there is a diverſity of Reports by ſeveral Authors: Some ſay that he never had any other Wife than *Tatia*, nor more Children than one Daughter called *Pompilia*. Others will have it that beſides Her he left four Sons, namely, *Pompo*, *Pinus*, *Calpus* and *Mamercus*, each of which left a Succeſſion of Noble Families; for from *Pompo* came the *Pomponi*, from *Pinus* the *Pinarii*, from *Calpus* the *Calpurnii*, and from *Mamercus* the *Mamerci*, who for this reaſon had the ſirname of *Reges*, that is *Kings*. But there is a third ſort of Authors who accuſe theſe [laſt mentioned Writers] as flattering thoſe great Families, in order to gain their Favour, and affixing to them falſe Pedigrees pretended to be deduced from *Numa*, and affirm that *Pompilia* was not his Daughter by *Tatia*, but born of *Lucretia*, to whom he was married after he came to his Kingdom: However all of them agree in Opinion, that *Pompilia* was married to *Marcius*, the Son of that *Marcius* who perſuaded him to accept the Government; for he accompanied him to *Rome*, where, as a Signal of Honour, he was choſen into the Senate; and after the Death of *Numa*, ſtanding in competition with *Tullus Hoſtilius* for the Kingdom, and being diſappointed of the Election, in high Diſcontent put an end to his own life [by abſtaining from eating.] Howſoever his Son *Marcius*, who had married *Pompilia*, reſiding at *Rome*, was the Father of *Ancus Marcius*, who ſucceeded *Tullus Hoſtilius* in the Kingdom, and was (as it is reported) but five Years of Age when *Numa* died.

Numa's Death was neither ſharp nor ſudden, but being gradually worn away with old Age and gentle Sickneſs,

(as *Piſo* relates) he at laſt ended his Days a little above fourſcore Years old. That which made all the glories of his Life conſummate was the honour paid to him at his Funeral, when all the People that were in Alliance and Amity with him met together at his Interment, with publick Preſents and Garlands: The Senators carried the Bier on which his Corps was laid, and the Prieſts followed and accompanied the Proceſſion; all the reſt of the train (among which were a great number even of Women and Children) followed with ſuch lamentable Sighs and Tears, not as if they aſſiſted at the burial of an aged and worn-out King, but rather as if each of them had then buried his deareſt Relation in the flower of his Age. They did not burn his Body, becauſe 'tis ſaid he had given a particular command to the contrary: But they made two Stone Coffins, which they buried under the Hill *Janiculum*, One of which contained his Body, and the Other contained thoſe Books which he had written in the ſame manner as ſome Legiſlators among the *Greeks* wrote their Tables of Laws (called *Cyrbes.*) But he having in his life-time perfectly taught the Prieſts all that he had written, and habituated them to a perfect ſkill and practice of every Particular, commanded that theſe ſacred Books ſhould be buried with his Body, as if he thought ſuch ſecret Myſteries could not be kept and conveyed with ſufficient reſpect in lifeleſs writing. For this very Reaſon, they ſay, the *Pythagoreans* would not commit their Precepts [or Conſtitutions] to writing, but imprinted them upon the memory, and by way of unwritten inſtruction, to ſuch as were worthy to receive them. And when their method and manner of ſolving abſtruſe Problems in Geometry, which were called occult [or myſtical] happened to be diſcovered to one of the Unworthy, they gave out that the Deity animadverted upon it, and purſued ſuch wicked profaneneſs with a great and ſtrange Puniſhment. Upon which account we may more eaſily pardon [the Miſtake of] Thoſe who would fain perſuade us that *Numa* and *Pythagoras* lived at the ſame time

time and converſed together, ſince there are ſo many inſtances in which they ſo nearly reſemble one another.

Valerius Antias writes, that the Books which were buried in the aforeſaid Cheſts or Coffins of Stone, were twelve Volumes which treated of the ſacred Offices, [in *Latin*] and twelve others in *Greek*, containing Matters of Philoſophy: and that about four hundred Years afterwards, when *P. Cornelius* and *M. Bebius* were Conſuls, there happening to fall a great Rain, by which the Earth that covered the Coffins was broke away, the violence of the torrent diſplaced the Coffins, ſo that when the covers fell off One of them appear'd empty, without the leaſt Part or Relick of any Human Body; in the Other were the Books before mention'd, [ſtill remaining entire;] which when the Pretor *Petilius* had read and peruſed, he made Oath in the Senate, that in his Opinion, it was inconſiſtent both with Juſtice and Religion, for thoſe Books to be divulged, or made publick to the People; whereupon all the Volumes were carried to the Market-place, and there burnt.

It generally happens that due praiſe and applauſe follows all Perſons eminent for Juſtice and Virtue, which ſtill grows greater after they are dead, becauſe the Envy raiſed againſt them ſeldom outlives them, and ſome have the happineſs to ſee it die before them. And beſides all This, the fortune which befel the ſucceeding Kings made the Glory of *Numa* ſhine the brighter. For of the five, which were all that reigned after him, the laſt was depoſed from his Crown, and ended his old Age in Baniſhment: and of the other four, none died a natural Death, but three of them were cut off by Treaſon: and *Tullus Hoſtilius*, who immedately ſucceeded *Numa* in the Kingdom, deriding moſt of his eminent Virtues, but eſpecially and above all the reſt, his Devotion to the Gods, reproaching it as fit only to make Men lazy and effeminate, he turned the minds of the People to War; yet he did not continue always in this youthful ſort of inſolence, but having his Mind changed by a dangerous and ſtrange diſtemper, he fell into ſuch grievous Superſtition,

ſtition, as had not the leaſt reſemblance to the true Piety and Religion of *Numa*, and beſides he implanted this ſuperſtitious paſſion ſtill more ſtrongly in others [by the manner of his Death] being deſtroyed by a Thunderbolt.

The Compariſon of Numa *with* Lycurgus.

AND now we have gone over the Lives of *Numa* and *Lycurgus*, we muſt (though the Work be difficult) collect the Points of difference between the Two thus expoſed to view: For as to the qualities common to Both, ſuch as, for Inſtance, their Prudence and Moderation, their Piety, their Political Virtues, their ability to inſtruct Others, their deriving (Both of them) the Original of their Laws and Conſtitutions from the Gods: Theſe all appear ſufficiently from their actions. But as to the peculiar excellencies which belong to each of them ſeparately, the firſt in reſpect of *Numa* was his accepting a Kingdom, and in reſpect of *Lycurgus* his reſigning it: for the One took it upon him without being deſirous of it: the Other gave it up when he had it in Poſſeſſion. The One, from a private Perſon and a Stranger, was by Others freely made their Sovereign; but the Other, from the ſtate of a Prince, voluntarily made himſelf a private Perſon. It was glorious in One to acquire a Kingdom by his [reputation for] Juſtice; and no leſs glorious in the Other to prefer Juſtice before a Kingdom. The Virtue which raiſed the reputation of the One ſo high as to be thought worthy to wear a Crown, made the Other ſo great as to deſpiſe a Crown.

The ſecond point [of difference] is this: Whereas [in managing the Government] like the tuning of an Inſtrument,

Inſtrument, *Lycurgus* ſcrewed up That at *Sparta* to an higher pitch, which was grown flat and ſunk by Riot; *Numa* let down that at *Rome* to a lower Key, which had been too high and ſharp. The great difficulty of the Undertaking was indeed on *Lycurgus*'s ſide; for he did not go about to perſuade his Citizens to put off their Armour, and lay by their Swords, but to diſmiſs their Gold and Silver, and to throw away their fine Furniture and rich Tables: not to ceaſe from War in order to keep Feſtival Days, and do Sacrifice to the Gods, but to leave off their Feaſting and Revelling, in order to take pains, and practiſe themſelves in Arms and laborious Exerciſes. Upon which account *Numa* effected every thing by way of perſuaſion, with Goodwill and Reverence from his People; but *Lycurgus*, after running great danger, and expoſing his Perſon to a grievous Attack, could not without great difficulty compaſs his deſign. But it muſt be owned that the Muſe of *Numa* [*i. e.* his manner of tuning a Commonwealth] was more ſmooth and full of humanity, in that he gently turned, and as it were ſoothed his People out of their intractable and fiery diſpoſition into the practice of Peace and Juſtice. And if we muſt be forced to aſcribe that Caſe of killing the *Ilotes* (which was a moſt cruel and wicked act) to the Politicks of *Lycurgus*, we muſt needs confeſs that *Numa* was by far the more kind and human Legiſlator, who gave even ſuch as were confeſſedly Slaves, a taſte of ſuch reſpect as belongs to Freemen, by introducing the Cuſtom for them to ſit at the Table in Company with their Maſters in the time of the *Saturnalia*. For this they ſay was one of *Numa*'s Inſtitutions, who thought it reaſonable to admit Such to a ſhare in the Enjoyment of the annual Fruits of the Earth, as ſhared in the labour of cultivating them. But there are Some who treating in the way of Mythology ſay that this Cuſtom is ſtill preſerved as a Monument of that Equality which was in the Age of *Saturn*, when there was no diſtinction between

tween the Lord and the Servant; but All lived as Kindred and Relations in a Parity and Condition of Equality.

However it may be said in general that both [*Numa* and *Lycurgus*] appear to have had the same design, which was to bring their People to a (1) contented frugality and sobriety of living; and as to the other Virtues, One seems to have had the greatest regard for Fortitude, the Other for Justice; unless they were really forced to go such different ways to work, because the Nature and Customs of the two political Constitutions which they were severally to model were so exceedingly unlike one another. For it was not out of Cowardise, that *Numa* put an end to War, but to prevent the doing acts of Injustice. Nor did *Lycurgus* train up his People to Arms, that they should do injury (or violence) to Others, but that they should not be exposed to injuries Themselves. Thus while each of them attempted to cut off what was excessive, and to supply what was defective in the state of their People, they were under a necessity of making great alterations.

(1) Αὐτάρκειαν.

And then again, as to the disposition and distribution of the parts of their respective Governments: That of *Numa* was exceeding popular, and fitted to please the Commonalty; for out of Goldsmiths, Musicians, Shoemakers, [and the rest of the Companies] he made one compounded Populace of all different Professions mixt together: But That of *Lycurgus* was more severe and Aristocratical, for it allowed no Trade or manual Arts to be exercised by any hands but those of Slaves, and such (2) Foreigners as were Inmates upon sufferance; but confined such as were Citizens to the Management of the Spear and Buckler, as being only Artisans of War, and Servants of *Mars*, who neither understood nor studied to understand any other Art but how to obey their Commanders and conquer their Enemies.

(2) μετοίκων.

Neither

Neither were Freemen permitted to practiſe any of the ways of growing rich, (that ſo they might be entirely free once for all) but the buſineſs of getting Money was left to their Slaves and the *Ilotes*, as was alſo the Office of ſerving up their Suppers and dreſſing their Meat.

But *Numa* made no ſuch Diſtinction: He only took care to prevent (3) Soldiers from getting much in their way [of Plunder,] but prohibited no other [honeſt] means of growing Rich: nor did he endeavour to level Mens Eſtates, or reduce them to an Equality, but gave every Man a liberty to amaſs Wealth, and grow as rich as he was able; and took no care to provide againſt Poverty, which by the Additions of poor People, who flocked to the City, increaſed daily: Whereas in the very beginning, (while there was no great diſparity in Mens Eſtates, but all were pretty much upon a level) he ought vigorouſly to have reſtrained the covetous deſire of having more One than Another, as *Lycurgus* did, and ſo to have prevented the inconveniencies ariſing from thence, which were not inconſiderable, but ſuch as gave Birth and Original to thoſe many and grievous troubles which frequently happened in the *Roman* State.

(3) στρατιωτικὰς πλεονεξίας.

But as to an equal Partition of Lands, neither is *Lycurgus* to be blamed for making it, nor *Numa* for not making it. For this Equality was the very Baſis and Foundation of the *Spartan* Commonwealth: But an allotment of Lands having been ſo lately made [at *Rome*,] there could be no urgent neceſſity for making a new Partition, nor for altering that firſt diſtribution of Property, which, very probably, continued as yet in the ſame ſtate as it was.

Now as to that Community, in reſpect of Marriage and the Propagation of Children, which Both of them with very good Policy appointed to prevent Jealouſy, they did not entirely take the ſame method. For a

Roman

Roman Husband having Children enow, or as many as he thought fit to keep, might part with his Wife at the requeſt of Another who wanted Children; having full Power both to divorce her, and take her again, if he pleaſed. But the *Laconian* Husband allowed the free uſe of his Wife to any other that deſired to have Children by her, and yet ſtill kept her in his Houſe, and retain'd the Bond and Conditions of Marriage in the ſame force and virtue as at firſt: Nay many Husbands (as we have ſaid) would often invite ſuch Men to their Houſes by whom they thought they might hope to have handſom and well-made Children, [which they took for their own]. What then is the difference between theſe two Cuſtoms? Only this; that in the One *(i. e.* the *Lacedæmonian* Way) there is an abſolute and entire unconcernedneſs about their Conſorts, as to thoſe things which give moſt other Men ſo much diſturbance, and fire them with ſuch jealouſy and diſquiet all their lives: in the other *(i. e.* the *Roman* way) there was a ſort of Simplicity which ſhewed ſome reſpect for Modeſty, alledging the Marriage-contract in defence of it, and thereby owning how uneaſy it was to endure ſuch a Community in Wedlock. Moreover, the Conſtitutions of *Numa* as to Virgins were more ſevere, preſcribing Rules to keep them modeſt, and free from all ſuſpicions of unchaſtity: but the Orders of *Lycurgus* were in that point more diſſolute, giving an indecent liberty to Maids and ſingle Women; which afforded to the Poets Subject for their rallery, who (as particularly *Ibycus)* gave them the Epithet of φαινομηρίδας, or Wenches with ſhort Petticoats to ſhew their Thighs; and ἀνδρομανεῖς, or rampant Girls that run mad for a Man: as *Euripides* ſaith,

Who ſcorn to keep at home, but run abroad
With naked Thighs and open Coats, to vye
With valiant Youths in manlike exerciſe.

For

For indeed the Skirts of the Habit which the Maidens wore were not cloſed below, but flew open on both ſides, ſo that as they walked their Thighs appeared bare. *Sophocles* has plainly deſcribed this in the following Paſſage, where he ſays that *Hermione* was

Still like a wanton Girl, with Coats tuck'd high,
And Robe let looſe, to ſhew her naked Thigh.

Upon this account it is ſaid that the Women were exceeding Confident, and eſpecially that they henpeck'd their Husbands; becauſe they not only bore an abſolute ſway at home, but alſo had the privilege of Votes in publick Aſſemblies, and liberty of Speech in matters of higheſt moment. But *Numa* [with better decorum] not only preſerved entire to the Matrons all Marks of Honour and Reſpect from their Husbands, which they had in the Reign of *Romulus*, when they were uſed with ſuch great kindneſs to compenſate for their Rape; but at the ſame time he put them under a guard of great Modeſty, and obliged them to forbear all meddling Curioſity. He taught them Sobriety, and accuſtomed them to Silence; for they were prohibited the uſe of Wine intirely, and not allowed the freedom of Diſcourſe even in the moſt neceſſary matters, unleſs in the Company and Preſence of their Husbands. So that, as the Story goes, when at a certain time a Woman had the Confidence to plead her own Cauſe at the Bar in a place of Judicature, it ſeemed ſo ſtrange and monſtrous a thing, that the Senate ſent to enquire of the Oracle, what ſuch a Prodigy might portend to the Commonwealth. And one great Argument to prove the complying Temper and obliging meek Behaviour of theſe *Roman* Matrons in all other reſpects, is the memorable notice which is taken of ſuch as were deficient in theſe Virtues. For as our [*Greek*] Hiſtorians record in their Annals the Names of thoſe who firſt unſheathed the Sword of Civil War, or fought with

their

their Brothers, or murder'd their Fathers or Mothers; ſo the *Roman* Writers report, that *Spurius Carvilius* was the firſt who divorced his Wife; being a caſe that never before happened in the ſpace of 230 Years from the Foundation of the City; and that one *Thalea* by Name, the Wife of *Pinarius*, was the firſt that had any quarrel or debate with her Mother-in-law *Gegania*, in the Reign of *Tarquinius Superbus:* ſo excellently well framed, for the preſervation of Decency and Modeſty, were thoſe Conſtitutions which this Lawgiver made in relation to Marriages.

Correſpondent to the manner of educating the Virgins in other reſpects, was the method ſeverally taken of beſtowing them in Marriage. For *Lycurgus* was for marrying them when they were full ripe and eager for Husbands, that this Converſation with Men, when Nature required it, might be a principle of kindneſs and love, rather than of hatred and fear towards Thoſe who forced them againſt the inclinations of Nature: and that their Bodies might have ſufficient Strength to undergo the trouble of Breeding and pains of Childbirth, in as much as he took the only end of their Marriage to be the buſineſs of bearing Children.

But the *Romans* married out their Daughters at twelve Years of Age, or under, as ſuppoſing that by this means not only their Perſons but their Humours and Diſpoſitions would come pure and untainted into the management of the Husband [to be formed according to his liking.] Now 'tis plain that the firſt way [*i. e.* of *Lycurgus*] is more agreeable to the deſires of Nature, which only reſpects the Procreation of Children; but the other is better adapted to make a conjugal Life comfortable, and calculated for the rules of moral living. But however it muſt be owned that *Lycurgus*, by the care which he took for inſpecting the Education of Children, and collecting them in Companies, their publick Diſcipline and common Aſſemblies, together with their regular and orderly management at their publick Suppers,

Suppers, Exerciſes and Paſtimes, gave ſuch a plain inſtance of his ſuperior skill, as ſhews that in Compariſon to Him *Numa* was no better than One in the ordinary rank of Legiſlators; foraſmuch as *Numa* left the Education of the Youth intirely to the Parents, to be managed according to their own pleaſure, or as their neceſſities required; ſo that any one was at Liberty, if he pleaſed, to make his Son a Husbandman, or to teach him the Trade of a Ship-Carpenter, or a Braſier, or a Muſician: juſt as if they had been under no Obligation to have them trained at firſt to one and the ſame end, and their Manners made conformable to each other [in order to purſue the common good;] but as if they were all merely like Paſſengers in a Ship, where every one comes upon a diſtinct Intereſt and Deſign of his own, and only in time of danger can be got together, for fear of loſing their Own to conſult the publick Safety, but at all other times conſider nothing but their own particular Concerns.

It is not indeed reaſonable that we ſhould blame the generality of Legiſlators, who happen to be deficient in this point, either for want of skill or for want of power to bring their deſigns to bear: But for ſo wiſe a Man as *Numa*, who undertook the Government of a People which had been ſo lately collected into one Body, and which made not the leaſt oppoſition to any thing that he had a mind to; what could be more proper, or of more concern, to employ his firſt and principal care and attention, than the Education of Children and Diſcipline of Youth, that ſo they might not grow up to be Men of diſagreeable and turbulent Tempers: but being immediately from the very Cradle formed and faſhioned to one Common Rule of publick Virtue, might mutually agree to proſecute the ſame good end. The care which *Lycurgus* took in this matter, (beſides its ſerving to many other good purpoſes) was of exceeding great advantage towards preſerving his Laws inviolate. For the fear of breaking their Oaths [which

he made them take to preſerve the Conſtitution] would have ſignified but little, if he had not by Diſcipline and Education, as it were, infuſed his Laws into the Manners of the Children, and made them ſuck in a Zeal for his political Inſtitutions with their very Milk. So that for above five hundred Years together the fundamental and principal points of his Legal Eſtabliſhment continued in force, as if it had taken a deep and ſtrong dye, [which could not eaſily be waſh'd out.]

But when *Numa* expired, the great end and aim of his Government, which was that *Rome* ſhould continue in Peace and Amity, immediately vaniſh'd with him. For no ſooner was he dead, but (4) the Temple of *Janus* (ſo famous for its two Gates) which he had conſtantly kept ſhut, (as if he had indeed kept War itſelf tamed and cloſe pent up in it,) was preſently thrown wide open on both hands, and all *Italy* was filled with Blood and Slaughter. And thus one of the fineſt and juſteſt Conſtitutions in the World was not able to ſubſiſt for any (even the leaſt) conſiderable time, becauſe it wanted that Cement in it which ſhould have kept all firm together, that is a good Education of Youth.

(4) ἀμφίθυρον εἶχον.

What then? (will Some ſay.) Hath not *Rome* advanced itſelf to a *better Condition* by the practice of War? A Queſtion this is which requires a long and tedious Anſwer, if we are to ſatisfy ſuch Men as ſuppoſe this *better Condition* to conſiſt in Riches, and Luxury, and Dominion over others, rather than in quiet Safety, Moderation of Mind, and a contented Enjoyment of our Own, with Juſtice to Others. However even This will appear to make much for *Lycurgus*, that the *Romans* advanced their State to ſo great a pitch after they had changed the Conſtitution from what it was in *Numa*'s Days: But the *Lacedæmonians*, on the contrary, as ſoon as ever they fell from the Obſervation of thoſe Orders which *Lycurgus* enjoined, from being

being a very great State, they became a moſt deſpicable People; and after they had loſt the Command of the reſt of *Greece*, were in danger of being themſelves intirely deſtroyed.

But after all it muſt be allowed that thus much of *Numa* was truly great and God-like, That though an Alien, he was thought worthy to be courted to come and take the Crown: That he altered the whole frame of the Government by mere perſuaſion: and That he kept the abſolute Rule over a City conſiſting of two Parties not yet well compacted, which he did without any occaſion to make uſe of Arms, or any ſort of force (ſuch as *Lycurgus* uſed when he headed the Nobility againſt the Commons;) but by meer dint of Wiſdom and Juſtice brought every one to concur intirely with him, and ſettled a perfect harmony among them.

THE LIFE OF SOLON.

DYDIMUS the Grammarian, in his Anſwer to *Aſclepiades* concerning *Solon*'s Tables, mentions a Paſſage of one *Philocles*, wherein he pretends to ſhew that *Solon*'s Father's Name was *Euphorion*, contrary to the Opinion of all others who have made any mention of *Solon*: for they generally agree that he was the Son of *Execeſtides*, a man of moderate Wealth and Power in the City; but a Family of the firſt Quality, being deſcended from *Codrus*: his Mother, as *Heraclides Ponticus* affirms, was Couſin to *Piſiſtratus* his Mother, and theſe Two at firſt were great Friends, partly becauſe they were akin, and partly becauſe *Piſiſtratus* was a Perſon of excellent Qualities, and very handſom, which (as Some ſay,) made *Solon* much in love with him. And for this reaſon, I ſuppoſe, when afterwards they differ'd about the Government, their Enmity never produc'd

produc'd any harſh and violent Paſſion; but thoſe ol Kindneſſes ſtuck cloſe in their Minds, and kept the remembrance of their former love and dear affection ſtill alive, *like glowing Embers of once ſcorching Fire.* For that *Solon* was not Proof againſt Beauty, nor had Courage enough *(like Champion ſtout in cloſeſt fight)* to reſiſt the Force of Love, we may conjecture by his Poems; and by a Law he forbad Slaves to perfume themſelves, or love Boys; making that an honourable Action, and only fit for Gentlemen, and as it were inviting the Worthy to the practice of that, which he commanded the Unworthy to forbear. *Piſiſtratus* likewiſe is reported to have loved one *Charmus*, and to have conſecrated a Statue of Love in the Academy, where thoſe light their Torches that run the ſacred *Torch-race*. *Solon*, as *Ermippus* writes, when his Father had ruin'd his Eſtate in doing Benefits and Kindneſſes to other Men, tho' he had Friends enough that were willing to contribute to his relief, yet being aſham'd to be beholden to Others, ſince he was deſcended from a Family who were accuſtomed to do Kindneſſes rather than receive them, He therefore apply'd himſelf to Merchandize in his younger Years; tho' Others aſſure us that *Solon* travel'd rather to get Learning and Experience than to raiſe an Eſtate: 'tis certain that he was a Lover of Wiſdom, for when he was old he would ſay,

Though aged grown, yet much I daily learn.

But he was no Admirer of Riches, eſteeming him equally wealthy.

Who ſees vaſt heaps of Gold at his command,
Fine Horſes, and a fair Eſtate in Land;
And Him, to whom indulgent Fate beſtow'd
Sufficient Wealth to buy him Clothes and Food:
But if to this, a Wife, and prattling Boys,
And Youth, and Grace, He hath the height of Joys.

And in another place,

I would be rich, and yet to raiſe my Purſe,
Not cheat; for Wealth, ſo got, the Gods will curſe.

Now nothing hinders, but that a virtuous Man and a good Citizen may ſo order it, as neither to be too ſolicitous in procuring Superfluities, nor ſo unconcerned as to deſpiſe the uſe of Things neceſſary and convenient. In thoſe days, (according to *Heſiod*,) it was no ſhame for a Man to work, nor did a Trade make any difference of Quality. But Merchandize was a very honourable Profeſſion, which brought home the good things which the barbarous Nations enjoy'd, was the occaſion of Friendſhip with their Kings, and Mother of Experience, in many kinds. Some Merchants have built great Cities, as the Founder of *Maſſilia*, that Man ſo much eſteem'd by the *Gauls* that live about the *Rhone*: Some alſo report, that *Thales* and *Hippocrates* the Mathematician traded; and that *Plato* defray'd the Charges of his Travels by ſelling Oil in *Ægypt*. Now Some ſuppoſe that *Solon*'s profuſe and ſoft way of living, and his Diſcourſe of Pleaſures in his Poems, too looſe for a Philoſopher, were occaſioned by his Trading Life; for having ſuffer'd a thouſand Dangers, 'twas fit they ſhould be rccompens'd with ſome Pleaſures and Enjoyments. But that he accounted himſelf rather poor than rich, is evident from theſe Lines,

Some wicked Men are rich, ſome Good are poor;
I would not change my Virtue for their Store:
For That's a ſure Poſſeſſion, firm as Fate;
Whilſt Wealth now flies to this Man, now to that.

At firſt he us'd his Poetry not for any ſerious purpoſe, but by way of Diverſion, as it ſhould ſeem, and to paſs away his idle Hours: but afterwards he inſerted Sentences of Moral Philoſophy, and interwove many

many political Remarks into his Poems, not as Matter of Hiſtory, or for Memory ſake, but ſuch as contained Apologies for his own Actions, and withal ſome earneſt Exhortation, grave Advice, or ſevere Reprehenſion to the *Athenians*. Some report, that he deſign'd to put his Laws into a Poem, and they quote this as the beginning of it:

Firſt, we implore a Bleſſing on our Laws
From mighty Jove, *and Honour and Applauſe.*

Of moral Philoſophy, as moſt of the then wiſe Men, he chiefly eſteemed Politicks; in Phyſicks he was very rude and illiterate, as appears by this:

Soft Snow and Hail fall from a frozen Cloud;
From glaring Lightning, Thunder roars aloud;
The Winds make the Seas rough, they vex the Main;
But when they ceaſe to blow, 'tis ſmooth and plain.

And indeed 'tis probable, that at that time it was only *Thales*'s Wiſdom which had gone any further in Speculation than was of abſolute uſe in practice; and the other ſix were call'd Wiſe Men from their great Skill in Political Affairs. Fame delivers that They had an Interview at *Delphi*, and another at *Corinth*, by the procurement of *Periander*, who made Proviſion for their Entertainment: but their Credit and Reputation was chiefly raiſed by ſending the Tripod round to them all, and their modeſt returning it, and complaiſant yielding to one another: For (as the Story goes) when ſome *Coans* once were drawing a Net, and ſome Strangers from *Miletus* had bought the Draught at a venture; there chanced to come up a Golden Tripod, which (they ſay) *Helen*, at her return from *Troy*, upon the remembrance of an old Prophecy, threw in there. Now the Strangers at firſt conteſting with the Fiſhers about the Tripod, and the Cities eſpouſing the Quarrel ſo far as to engage themſelves in a War, *Apollo* [to end the Controverſy,]

troverſy,] adviſed both Parties to preſent it to the wiſeſt Man; and firſt it was ſent to *Miletus*, to *Thales*, the *Coans* freely preſenting this One Man with That, for which they fought all the *Mileſians* together. But *Thales* declaring *Bias* a wiſer Perſon than himſelf, it was ſent to Him; from Him to Another, as yet wiſer: and ſo going round them All, it came to *Thales* a ſecond time; and at laſt, being carried from *Miletus* to *Thebes*, it was there dedicated to *Apollo Iſmenius*. *Theophraſtus* writes, that it was firſt preſented to *Bias* at *Priene*; and next to *Thales*, at *Miletus*, and ſo through All it returned to *Bias*, and was at laſt ſent to *Delphi*. This is the general Report; only Some, inſtead of a Tripod, ſay this Preſent was a Bowl ſent by *Cræſus*; Others, a Cup which one *Bathycles* had left. There are Some who give an Account of a particular Converſation which *Anacharſis* had with *Solon*, and likewiſe of Another which *Thales* had, in which there paſt ſuch Diſcourſe as follows: *Anacharſis* (as the Story goes) coming to *Athens*, knock'd at *Solon*'s Door, and told him, That he being a Stranger was come to be his Gueſt, and contract a Friendſhip with him: And *Solon* replying, *'Tis better to make Friends at home*; *Anacharſis* return'd, *Then you that are at home make me your Friend, and take me for your Gueſt*. *Solon* ſurpriſed at this ingenious Subtilty of the Man, receiv'd him kindly, and kept him ſome time with him, whilſt he was managing the Commonwealth, and contriving his Laws; which when *Anacharſis* underſtood, he laught at *Solon*'s undertaking, for imagining he could reſtrain the Injuſtice and Covetouſneſs of his Citizens by written Laws *which were no better than Spiders Webs, and would, like Them, hold only the Weak and Poor, when they were caught, but would be eaſily broken through by the Mighty and Rich.* To This (they ſay) *Solon* replied, *that Men kept their Promiſes when neither ſide can get any thing by the breaking of them; and he would ſo fit his Laws to the Citizens, that All would underſtand, 'twas more eligible to be Juſt and Obey, than act contrary to the Command.* But the

the event proved rather as *Anacharſis* by his Compariſon gueſſed, then as *Solon* hoped it would.

Anacharſis, being one time at the (1) Grand Aſſembly, ſaid, he wondred much that in *Greece* the Wiſe Men ſhould propoſe Cauſes, and Fools determine. (1) Ἐκκλησία.

When *Solon* came to *Thales* at *Miletus*, he wondred that *Thales* took no care to get him a Wife and Children. To This *Thales* made no Anſwer for the preſent, but a few days after dealt with a Stranger to pretend that he came from *Athens* ten days ago; and *Solon* enquiring *what News there*, the Man, according to his Inſtructions, reply'd, *None, but only about a young Man's Funeral which the whole City celebrated; for he was* (they ſaid) *the Son of a Perſon of great Honour, and the higheſt Reputation for Virtue of all his Citizens, who was not then at home, but had been abroad upon his Travels a long time. Solon* reply'd, *What a miſerable Man is he! but what was his Name? I have heard it*, ſays the Man, *but have now forgotten it, only there was a great Talk of his Wiſdom and his Juſtice.* Thus *Solon* was drawn on by every Anſwer, and his Fears heightned, till at laſt, being extremely concern'd, he mentioned his own Name, and aſk'd the Stranger *if that young Man was not call'd* Solon's *Son*, and the Stranger aſſenting, he began to beat his Head, and to do and ſay ſuch things as Men uſually do in ſo great a Paſſion. But *Thales* held him, and with a Smile ſaid, *Theſe are the things*, Solon, *which keep me from Marriage and getting Children, which are able to ſhake the Courage even of ſo ſtout a Man as you: however be not concern'd at this Report, for 'tis all a Fiction.* This *Ermippus* delivers from *Patæcus*, who pretended that he had *Æſop*'s Soul. But for all this, that Man acts a very ſilly and mean part, who forbears to provide himſelf of Conveniences, for fear of loſing them; for upon the ſame account, we ſhould neither love to have Wealth, nor Glory, nor Wiſdom, ſince we may fear to be depriv'd of all theſe: Nay even Virtue itſelf, than which there is no greater, nor

nor more desirable Possession, is often lost by Sickness or Enchantments. *Thales* himself, tho' unmarried, could not be free from Solicitude more than others, unless he likewise took care to avoid having either Friends, or Relations, or Country: But even he had an adopted Child, one *Cybisthus*, who was (as they say) his Sister's Son. For the Soul having a Principle of Kindness in itself, and being naturally made to love, as well as to perceive, think, or remember, something foreign and improper always comes in and engages this principle of Affection, in Such as have nothing at home proper to employ it upon. Strangers or Bastards insinuating themselves into a good-natur'd Man's Affections, (as they do into an House or Land that wants a lawful Heir) and having got Possession of them, together with his Love to them, they work in him a Care and Concern for fear of losing them; insomuch that you shall see some Men who are earnest Disputers against Marriage, and having of Children; yet, when a Slave's Child, or Harlot's Brat is sick, or dies, the same Men shall be most grievously afflicted for the loss, and make most hideous outcries. Nay Some for the death of Dogs or Horses have grieved most shamefully, as if it were such a Case as no Man living could bear. And yet Others upon the death of virtuous Children, have not been under such violent Concern, nor guilty of a mean Action; but pass'd the rest of their Lives like Men, according to the Principles of Reason. For 'tis not Benevolence, but Weakness, that brings those endless Griefs and Fears upon such Men as are not armed by Reason against the strokes of Fortune: who have not even so much as the present Enjoyment of what they dote so much upon; while the fear of losing it gives them such Pain, Vexation and Torment. But now we must not provide against the loss of Wealth by Poverty; or the loss of Friends, by refusing all Acquaintance; or death of Children, by getting none; but by a proper use of our Reason against all such Accidents. But of this too much at present.

Now

Now when the *Athenians* were tired with a tedious and difficult War, which they managed againſt the *Megarenſians* for the Iſland *Salamis*; and made a Law that it ſhould be Death for any Man, by writing or ſpeaking, to aſſert that the City ought to endeavour to recover it: *Solon* (vext at the Diſgrace, and perceiving thouſands of the Youth wiſh'd for ſome body to begin the War again, but did not dare to ſtir firſt for fear of the Law;) counterfeited a Diſtraction, and by his own Family it was given out in the City that he was Mad; but he ſecretly compos'd an Elegy, and getting it by heart that it might ſeem extempore, he ran out into the Market-place with a Cap upon his head; and whilſt the People gathered about him, got upon the Standing of the Crier, and ſang that Elegy which begins thus:

From Salamis, *that glorious Iſle, I come;*
And bring you News, and noble Verſes, home.

That Poem is call'd *Salamis*, it contains a hundred Verſes, very elegantly written. Now when he had done ſinging, and his Friends began to commend it, eſpecially *Piſiſtratus*, who exhorted the Citizens to obey his Directions; they repealed the Law, and renew'd the War under *Solon*'s Conduct. The common Report is, that with *Piſiſtratus* he ſail'd to *Colias*; and finding the Women, according to the Cuſtom of the Country there, ſacrificing to *Ceres*, he ſent a truſty Friend to *Salamis*, who ſhould pretend himſelf a *Renegade*, and adviſe them, if they deſired to ſeize the chief *Athenian* Women, to make all ſail to *Colias*. The *Megarenſians* taking the Story for truth, preſently mann'd a Ship; and *Solon* deſcrying this Ship juſt as it put off from the Iſland, commanded the Women to be gone; and ordered ſome beardleſs Youth dreſs'd in theſe Womens Clothes, their Shoes and Head-dreſſes, and privately arm'd with Daggers, to dance and wanton near the Shore, till the Enemies had landed, and the Ship was in their power. Things being thus ordered, the *Megarenſians* were allur-

ed

ed with the Appearance, and coming near the Shore ſtrove who ſhould leap out firſt, as it were only to ſeize the Women; but were ſo warmly received, that not one of them eſcaped; and the *Athenians* preſently ſet ſail for the Iſland, and took it. Others deliver that it was not taken this way; but that *Apollo*, at *Delphi*, firſt gave him this Oraculous advice:

Thoſe Heroes that in fair Aſopia *reſt,*
All buried with their Faces to the Weſt,
Appeaſe; go offer what ſhall pleaſe them beſt,

And that *Solon* ſailing by Night to the Iſland, ſacrific'd to the Heroes *Periphemus* and *Cychris*; and then taking 500 *Athenians* Voluntiers, (who had a Law paſs'd in their favour, that if they took the Iſland they ſhould have the Government of it) and ſetting Sail with a good number of Fiſhing-Veſſels, together with a Galley of thirty Oars, he anchored in a Bay of *Salamis* that looks towards *Eubœa*: and the *Magarenſians* that were then in the Iſland being alarm'd by an uncertain report, in great diſorder betook themſelves to their Arms, and ſent a Ship to diſcover the Enemies. This Ship coming too near, *Solon* took, and ſecuring the *Magarenſians*, manned it with the ſtouteſt of the *Athenians*, and gave them orders to ſail to the Iſland with as much privacy as poſſible; and he with the other Soldiers march'd againſt the *Megarenſians* by Land. Now whilſt Theſe were engaged in fight, Thoſe from the Ship took the City. This relation ſeems to be confirm'd by an old Cuſtom afterwards practiſed; for an *Athenian* Ship uſed firſt to ſail ſilently to the Iſland, then while the People come down with noiſe and a great ſhout, out-leaps a Man in Armour, and with a ſtrong Cry runs to the Promontory *Sciradium*, to meet thoſe that approach upon the Land; and juſt by there ſtands a Temple, which *Solon* dedicated to *Mars*: for he beat the *Megarenſians*, and as many as were not kill'd in the Battle he ſent away upon Articles. But the *Megarenſians* ſtill contending, and both ſides having

having received conſiderable Loſſes, they choſe the *Spartans* for Arbitrators. Now Many affirm that *Homer*'s Authority did *Solon* a conſiderable kindneſs; for that he inſerted a Line into the Catalogue of Ships, which he read when the matter was to be determined.

Ajax *from* Salamis *twelve Ships commands,*
And ranks his Men amidſt th' Athenian *Bands.*

The *Athenians* account this but an idle Story, and report, that *Solon* made it appear to the Judges, that *Philæus* and *Euryſaces*, the Sons of *Ajax*, being made free of *Athens*, gave up the Iſland to the *Athenians*; and that One of them dwelt at *Brauron* in *Attica*, the Other at *Melite*; and they have a (2) Ward of *Philaidæ*, to which *Piſiſtratus* belonged, which took its name from *Philæus*. And for a further Argument againſt the *Megarenſians*, he inſiſted on the manner of burying the dead [at *Salamis*,] that they are not buried after the *Megarenſian* faſhion, but according to the *Athenian*: for the *Megarenſians* turn the face of the Corps, in burial, to the Eaſt, the *Athenians* to the Weſt. But *Hereas* the *Megarenſian* denies this, and affirms that they likewiſe turn the Body to the Weſt. He had beſides a ſtronger Argument than this, which was, that the *Athenians* have a ſeparate Tomb for each Body, but the *Megarenſians* put three or four into one. And farther they report, that ſome of *Apollo*'s Oracles, where he calls it *Ionian Salamis*, made much for *Solon*. This matter was determined by five *Spartans*, *Critolaides*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypſechidas*, *Anaxilas* and *Cleomenes*. From this buſineſs *Solon* grew preſently into great Fame and Authority; but That which made him moſt admired, and got him the moſt Reputation among the *Greeks*, was what he ſaid in behalf of the Temple at *Delphi*, that All ought to aſſiſt, and not ſuffer the *Cirrhæans* to abuſe the Oracle, but riſe up in defence of the *Delphic* God. For upon his perſuaſion, the *Amphyctions* undertook the War, as among Others, *Ariſtotle* affirms

(2) δῆμον.

in his Treatiſe of the Victors at the *Pythian* Games, where he makes *Solon* the Author of this Counſel. *Solon* was not General in that Expedition, as *Ermippus* tells us from *Evantheus* the *Samian*: for *Æſchines* the Orator ſays no ſuch thing; and in the Memoirs of the *Delphian* Affairs, *Alcmæon*, not *Solon*, is recorded as General of the *Athenians*.

It was now that the Guilt of the *Execrable* Proceeding againſt the Accomplices of *Cylon*, had for a long time given great diſturbance to the Commonwealth, even from the time when it firſt happen'd, which was, when *Megacles*, then chief Magiſtrate, [or *Archon*,] perſuaded theſe Conſpirators with *Cylon*, who had taken Sanctuary in *Minerva*'s Temple, to come down and ſtand a fair Trial; but when they had tied a twined Thread to the Image of the Goddeſs, and kept hold of one end of it, [*in token of their being ſtill under Sanctuary*,] juſt as they came down by the Temple of the *Furies*, the Thread happening to break of its own accord, *Megacles* and his Collegues in Office fell to ſeizing of them, as if the Goddeſs had now refuſed them her protection. As Many as were without the Temple were ſtoned, Thoſe that fled to the Altars for Sanctuary were butchered there: and only Thoſe eſcaped who made their Application to the Officers Wives. But from that time theſe Officers were called (3) *Execrables*, [or *Excommunicate Perſons*,] and had in great deteſtation. Such of the *Cylonian* faction as happen'd to out-live this blow, at length grew ſtrong again, and had continual Quarrels with the Relations and Deſcendants of *Megacles*. The Quarrel being at this time come to its height, and the People divided, *Solon*, who was now come into reputation, taking to his aſſiſtance the beſt Men of *Athens*, interpoſed himſelf, and partly by Intreaty, and partly by Admonition, perſuaded the *Execrables*, as they were then called, to ſubmit to a Trial, and be judged by three hundred Perſons choſen out of the beſt Quality, to determine the Caſe. But one *Myron*, of the *Phlyenſian* Ward, managing the Charge

(3) ἐναγεῖς.

Charge againſt them they were all condemned; and as many as were then alive were baniſhed, and the Carcaſes of the dead were dug up, and ſcattered beyond the Confines of the Country. In the midſt of theſe Diſtractions, the *Megarenſians* falling upon them, the *Athenians* both loſt *Niſæa*, and were forced to quit *Salamis*: Beſides, the City was diſturb'd with ſuperſtitious Fears and ſtrange Appearances; and the Prieſts declar'd that the Sacrifices intimated ſome execrable Crimes and Pollutions that were to be expiated. Upon this they ſent for *Epimenides* the *Phæſtian*, from *Crete*, who is counted the ſeventh Wiſe Man, by Thoſe that will not admit *Periander* into the number: He was reputed a Holy Man, beloved by the Gods, and one that had great ſkill in Matters of Religion, as to what concerned Inſpirations and the Myſteries of Initiation; and therefore the Men of that Age call'd him the Son of the Nymph *Balte*, and the new *Curete*, [or Prieſt of *Cybele*.] When he came to *Athens*, and grew intimately acquainted with *Solon*, he aſſiſted him privately in many Inſtances, and made way for the better reception of his Laws: For he made Them decently frugal in their Religious Worſhip, and more moderate in their Mourning, by ordering ſome ſacrifices preſently after the Funeral; and taking off thoſe ſevere and barbarous Ceremonies which moſt of the Women had formerly practis'd. But the greateſt thing of all was his cleanſing and purifying the City, by certain propitiatory and expiatory Luſtrations, and building of Chapels; and by that means making them more pliable to Juſtice, and more ready to be united. 'Tis reported that looking upon *Munychia*, and conſidering a-while, he ſaid to thoſe that ſtood by, *How blind is Man in future things! For did the* Athenians *foreſee what Miſchief this would do to their City, they wou'd e'en eat it with their own Teeth, to get rid of it.* And Some report that *Thales* made the like Conjecture, for he commanded his Friends to bury him in an obſcure and neglected Quarter of *Mileſia*, ſaying, that very Spot would in time be the *Forum* of the *Mileſians*. *Epimenides* being much admired,

mired, and preſented by the City with rich Gifts, and conſiderable Honours, requeſted but one Branch of the ſacred Olive: and that being granted, he return'd.

The *Athenians* now free from the *Cylonian* Sedition, and the *Execrables* baniſh'd, as was ſaid before, fell immediately into their old Quarrels about the Government, there being as many different Parties as there were different Situations of Country within the Bounds of the Commonwealth; for thoſe upon the Hills were moſt for Democracy, thoſe in the Champian for Oligarchy; and thoſe that liv'd towards the Sea, ſtood for a mixt ſort of Government, and ſo hindred either of the other Parties from prevailing. At the ſame time alſo the Diſcord ariſing from Inequality of Eſtates between the Poor and the Rich being come to the height, the City was in a moſt deſperate Condition, and 'twas thought that the only thing that could ſettle it, and free it from theſe Diſturbances, muſt be a Tyranny, [or abſolute Power in the Hands of one Man.] For all the People were indebted to the Rich: and either they tilled their Grounds, paying them the Sixth part of the Produce, and were therefore call'd *Hectemorii* and *Thetes*; or elſe they engaged their Body for the Debt, and might be ſeized by their Creditors: ſo Some of them were made Slaves at home, Others ſold to Strangers; Some (for no Law forbad it) were forc'd to ſell their Children, or run their Country to avoid the Cruelty of their Creditors; but the moſt and ſtouteſt of the People roſe, and encouraged one another not to ſuffer things to go thus, but to chooſe ſome one Man in whom they could confide for a Leader, to free (4) Such as were ſeiz'd for elapſing the time of Payment, to make a new diviſion of Lands, and entirely to change the Government. Then the wiſeſt of the *Athenians* conſidering *Solon* as the only Perſon who had kept himſelf free from blame, that he had no hand in theſe unjuſt Exactions with the Rich, and was not indebted with the Poor, preſt him to aſſiſt the Commonwealth, and compoſe the Differences: Tho' *Phanias* the *Leſbian*

(4) ὑπερημέρους.

Leſbian affirms that *Solon*, to ſave his Country, put a trick upon both Parties, and privately promiſed the Poor a Diviſion of the Lands, and the Rich Security for their Debts. But *Solon* himſelf ſays he was unwilling to meddle at firſt, being afraid of the Avarice of one Party and the Arrogance of the Other; but he was choſen Archon after *Philombrotus*, and impower'd to be an Arbitrator, and ſettle Laws; the Rich readily conſenting becauſe he was wealthy, the Poor becauſe he was honeſt. 'Tis reported that a Saying of his which went currently about beforehand, that *Equality never breeds War*, mightily pleas'd both Parties, the Wealthy and the Poor; the One expecting this Equality in Dignity and Power, the Other in Riches and Eſtate. Thus there being great Hopes on both ſides, the chief Men preſt *Solon* hard, with the offer of abſolute Government, endeavouring to perſuade him that he might, when he was once ſettled, manage the buſineſs roundly and according to his pleaſure: and many of the Citizens (5) who were indifferent between both Parties, perceiving it would be a difficult change to be effected by Law and reaſon, were not againſt having one wiſe and juſt Man ſet at the head of Affairs. And Some ſay that *Solon* had this Oracle from *Apollo*:

(5) τῶν δὲ μέσων.

Sit in the midſt, if you the Ship would guide,
And thouſands ſhall aſſiſt to ſtem the Tide.

But his Acquaintance eſpecially accuſed him of Meanneſs, for ſcrupling to take the Monarchy only for its Name; as if Tyranny would not by degrees become a legal Royalty by the Virtue of the Poſſeſſor, as it had formerly done among the *Eubœans* who choſe *Tynondas*; and did at preſent among the *Mitylenians*, who choſe *Pittacus* for their Prince. Yet nothing of all this could ſhake *Solon*'s Reſolution, but (as they ſay) he reply'd to his Friends, *'Tis true a Tyranny is a very fair ſpot, but it hath*

hath no way to get out at. And in a Copy of Verſes to *Phocus* he writes:

That I have ſpar'd my Country, kept my Fame,
Nor ſtain'd my Glory with a Tyrant's Name;
But when I could deſtroy I choſe to ſave,
I bluſh not; for I think this Action brave,
Beyond moſt other Mens. ———

From which 'tis manifeſt that he was a Man of great Reputation before he gave his Laws. But the ſeveral Jeers put upon him for refuſing Arbitrary Power, he delivers in theſe words:

Sure Solon *was a ſhallow thoughtleſs Wight,*
Who could Heaven's faireſt Gift ſo poorly ſlight.
The Fiſh were in his Net, he ſaw them caught,
Yet his mean Soul refus'd to take the Draught:
For elſe, to have enjoy'd but one day's Reign,
He would have ſuffer'd the ſevereſt Pain:
To have obtain'd ſuch Power in ſuch a Place,
He would have ventur'd curſing all his Race.

Thus he makes the Many and the Baſer ſort ſpeak of him in his Poems. Yet tho' he refus'd an Arbitrary Power, he was not too remiſs in the management of publick affairs: he did not appear mean and crouching to the Powerful; nor made his Laws to pleaſure Thoſe that choſe him: for where 'twas well before, he apply'd no remedy, nor altered any thing, for fear leſt unſettling, and bringing the Commonwealth into a Confuſion, he ſhould be too weak to new-model and compoſe it to a perfect State: but what he thought he could effect by perſuaſion upon the Pliable, and by force upon the Stubborn, that he did, (as himſelf ſays) *By making Force and Juſtice both Conſpire.* And therefore being afterwards aſk'd, if he had left the *Athenians* the beſt Laws that could be given: he reply'd, I have eſtabliſhed *the beſt*

they

they could receive. The way which modern Authors ſay the *Athenians* uſed to take off from the harſhneſs of things, by giving them kind and complaiſant Names, (ſo as civilly and gentilely, for inſtance, to call a Whore, *a Miſtreſs*; Taxes, *Rates*; Garriſons, *Guards*; Priſons, *Houſes of Safety*;) ſeems at firſt to have been *Solon*'s Contrivance, who nam'd the taking off the People's Debts a (6) *Diſcharge*. For the firſt thing which he ſettled in the Commonwealth was, that the Debts in being ſhould be forgiven, and no Man for the future ſhould engage the Body of his Debtor for Security: Tho' ſome (and among the reſt *Androtion*) affirm, that the poor People were eaſed, not by cancelling the Debt, but by lowering the Intereſt, which pleaſed them ſo that they gave the Name of *Diſcharge* to this kindneſs, and to That which came along with it, the enlarging their Meaſures, and raiſing the value of their Money; for he made a *Mina* [or Pound] which before went for but ſeventy three *Drachmas*, to go for a hundred, ſo that paying as much in Tale as before, but leſs in Weight, Thoſe that paid off a Debt had great advantage, and Thoſe that received it had no loſs. But moſt Authors ſay that this *Diſcharge* [or *Seiſacthia*] was an entire voidance of all Debts at once, and with this account what he ſays in his Poems beſt agrees: for in them *Solon* values himſelf *that he had removed all Marks of Mortgaged Land, fixt up almoſt in every place before, ſo that what was bound before, was now free; and of ſuch Citizens as had been ſeized into the Creditors Hands for their Debts, Some he had brought back from other Countries, where by the length of their Exile they had forgotten their Mother Tongue; and Some he had ſet at liberty, who were in cruel Slavery at home.* 'Tis ſaid that upon doing This there happen'd an unlucky Affair, which gave him great uneaſineſs; for when he had reſolv'd to take off the Debts, and was contriving ſuitable Speeches, and a proper way of beginning the buſineſs, he told ſome of his Friends, *Conon*, *Clinias* and *Hipponicus*, in Whom he

(6) Σεισάχθεια.

he had the greateſt confidence, and often adviſed with, that he would not meddle with the Lands, but only free the People from their Debts. But they immediately taking the advantage, beforehand borrowed vaſt Sums of Money from rich Men, and purchaſed ſome large Farms; and when the Law was enacted, they kept the Poſſeſſions, but would not return the Money to their Creditors; which brought *Solon* under great cenſure and reproach, as if he himſelf had not been abus'd by them, but concerned with them in this act of Injuſtice. But this Calumny was preſently confuted with five Talents, for he was known to have lent ſo many, and theſe he remitted in the firſt place according to the Law. Some (and among the reſt *Polyxelus* of *Rhodes*) ſay it was fifteen Talents. But however they called his Friends *Chreocopidæ* [*i. e. Debt-ſinkers*] ever after.

In making this Law he pleaſed neither Party, for he diſobliged the Rich in cancelling their Bonds, and the Poor ſtill more in not making a Diviſion of Land as they expected, nor making all level and equal in Eſtate, as *Lycurgus* had done. But then [it muſt be conſidered that] *Lycurgus* being the eleventh from *Hercules*, and having reign'd many Years in *Lacedæmon*, had gotten a great Reputation, Power and Friends, which he could uſe in modelling his State; and applying Force more than Perſuaſion, inſomuch that he loſt his Eye in the ſcuffle, brought about the moſt effectual means to preſerve and unite a State, by not permitting any to be poor or rich in his Commonwealth. But *Solon* could not riſe to that in his way of Politicks, being only a Commoner, and of a moderate Eſtate; yet he acted to the height of his Power, having nothing but his own good Advice, and the good Opinion of his Citizens to rely on. And that he offended the generality, who look'd for another poſture of Affairs, he declares in theſe Words:

Once all extoll'd Me much; now angry grown
As on their Foe they look with ſpiteful Frown.

And

And yet he ſays that if any other Man had had the ſame power, *he could not have reſtrained the Rabble, or kept them ſo quiet, without bringing all into ſuch Confuſion as to leave none rich among them.* But in a little time being ſenſible of their own advantage, they laid by their Grudge, made a publick Sacrifice, calling it *Seiſacthia*, and made *Solon* Super-intendent of the Laws, and every thing elſe relating to the Commonwealth: They gave him Power not in ſome particulars only, but in every thing, over all their *Magiſtracies*, their *Aſſemblies*, *Courts*, *Senates*; that he ſhould appoint what Eſtate each Man muſt have to qualify him for any of Theſe, what ſhould be the Number and Time of meeting, that he ſhould diſſolve or continue any of the preſent Conſtitutions according to his Pleaſure. Firſt then he repeal'd all *Draco*'s Laws, except Thoſe concerning Murder, becauſe they were too ſevere, and their Puniſhments too great; for Death was appointed for almoſt all Offences, inſomuch that Thoſe that were convicted of Idleneſs were to die; and Thoſe that ſtole a Cabbage, or an Apple, were liable to the ſame Puniſhment with the Villains that committed Sacrilege or Murder. And therefore *Demades* is famous for ſaying that *Draco*'s Laws were *not writ with Ink but Blood:* And he himſelf being once aſk'd, Why he made Death the Puniſhment of moſt Offences? reply'd, *Small ones deſerve That, and I have no higher for the greater Crimes.* In the next place *Solon* being willing to continue all Offices of Magiſtracy in the hands of the rich Men, as they had been, and yet to bring a mixture of the People into other parts of the Government of which they had no ſhare before, he took an account of the Citizens Eſtates, and Thoſe that were worth five hundred *Meaſures* both in Wet and Dry he plac'd in the firſt Rank, calling them *Pentacoſiomedimnoi*; thoſe of the ſecond Claſs, which were ſuch as could keep a Horſe, or were worth three hundred Meaſures, were nam'd *Hippadatelountes*; The third Claſs conſiſted of ſuch as were worth but two hundred Meaſures, and they were called *Zeugitæ*; and all the Others were call'd *Thetes*,

[i. e.

[i. e. *Vaſſals or Labourers for hire*] who were not admitted to any Office, but could come to the (7) *great Aſſemby*, and give their Voices: which at firſt ſeem'd nothing, but afterwards appear'd a conſiderable privilege; for moſt of the Controverſies came at laſt to theſe popular Judges: becauſe in all Matters which he put under the Cogniſance of the Magiſtrates, he gave ſuch as pleaſed liberty to appeal to the popular Court. Beſides, 'tis ſaid that he was obſcure and ambiguous in the wording of his Laws, on purpoſe to increaſe the Power of theſe popular Courts; for ſince their differences could not be adjuſted by the Letter of the Law they ſtood in continual need of Judges, and brought all Controverſies before them, who by this means were in a manner ſuperior to the Laws. And of this Equality he himſelf makes mention in this manner.

(7) ἐκκλησία.

What Power was fit I did on All beſtow,
Not rais'd the Poor too high, nor preſt too low:
The Rich that rul'd, and ev'ry Office bore,
Confin'd by Laws, they could not preſs the Poor;
Both Parties I ſecur'd from lawleſs Might,
So none prevail'd upon another's Right.

And for the greater ſecurity of the weak Commons, he gave any Man liberty to enter an Action againſt Another for an Injury; ſo that if any one was beaten, maim'd, or ſuffer'd violence from Another, any One that was willing and able might proſecute the Injurious: very wiſely intending by This to accuſtom the Citizens, like Members of the ſame Body, to reſent and be ſenſible of one another's Injuries. And there is a Saying of his agreeable to this Law; for being aſk'd what City was beſt model'd? *That*, ſays he, *where thoſe that are not injur'd are no leſs ready to proſecute and puniſh the Offenders than Thoſe that are.* He conſtituted the Court [or Senate] of the *Areopagus*, which was compoſed of ſuch as had been yearly Magiſtrates, of which he himſelf,

ſelf, having been Archon, was conſequently a Member. But ſtill obſerving that the People, now free from their Debts, grew proud and Imperious; he ſettled another Court of Four hundred, a hundred out of each of the four Tribes, which were to inſpect all Matters before they were to be propounded to the People; and to take care that nothing but what had been diligently examin'd, ſhould be brought before the general Aſſembly. The upper Council he made Inſpectors and Keepers of the Laws; ſuppoſing that the Commonwealth, held by theſe two Councils, as by firm Anchors, would be leſs liable to be toſt by Tumults, and the People more at quiet. Thus moſt deliver that *Solon* inſtituted the *Areopagus* (as we ſaid before) which ſeems to be confirmed, becauſe *Draco* makes no mention of the *Areopagites*, but in all Capital Cauſes applies himſelf to the *Ephetæ*. Yet *Solon*'s thirteenth Table has a Law (which is the eighth) ſet down in theſe very Words: "Whoever before *Solon*'s "Archonſhip were diſgrac'd let them be reſtor'd ex- "cept thoſe that being condemn'd by the *Areopagites*, "*Ephetæ*, or the Court of the *Prytanes* by the Kings, "for Murder, or Homicide, or Affectation of Tyranny, "had fled their Country when this Law was made." And theſe Words ſeem to ſhew that the *Areopagus* was before *Solon*'s Laws; for who could be condemn'd in the *Areopagus* before his time, if he was the firſt that gave this Court the Power of Judging? Unleſs, which is probable, there is ſome defect and obſcurity in this Table, and it ſhould run thus; Thoſe that have been convicted of ſuch Offences as now belong to the cogniſance of the *Areopagites*, *Ephetæ*, or the *Prytanes*, ſince the making of this Law, ſhall remain ſtill in Diſgrace, whilſt others are reſtor'd: And doubtleſs This was his meaning. Amongſt his other Laws, that is very peculiar and ſurpriſing, which makes all thoſe infamous who ſtand Neuters in a Sedition: But it ſeems, he would not have any one inſenſible and regardleſs of the Publick, and ſecuring his private Affairs, glory that he had no feeling of the diſtempers of his Country: but immediately

mediately joining with the good Party, and Thoſe that had the right on their ſide; aſſiſt, and venture with them, rather than ſhift out of harms way, and watch who would get the better. But that ſeems an abſurd and ridiculous Law, which permits an Orphan-heireſs, if He that claims and holds her as his own by Sentence of Law, prove impotent, then to match with his neareſt Kinſman: Yet ſome ſay, this Law was well contriv'd againſt Thoſe, who, conſcious of their own inability, yet, for the ſake of the Portion, would match with Heireſſes, and make uſe of Law to put a violence upon Nature; for now, when they ſee the Heireſs can chooſe her Conſort, they muſt either abſtain from ſuch Marriages, or continue them with diſgrace, and ſuffer for their Covetouſneſs and deſign'd Affront: Beſides, 'tis well done not to allow ſuch Women in thoſe caſes [of Inability] to chooſe for themſelves, but to confine them to their Huſband's neareſt Relations, that the Children may be of the ſame Family. And agreeable to This is the Law, that the Bride and Bridegroom ſhall be ſhut into a Chamber, and eat of the ſame Quince together; and that her Huſband is obliged to go in to ſuch Heireſs thrice a Month: for tho' he gets no Children, yet 'tis an honour and due affection which an Huſband ought to pay to a virtuous chaſte Wife; it takes off all petty differences, and will not permit their little quarrels to proceed to a rupture.

In all other Marriages he forbad Dowries to be given, the Wife was to bring with her three ſuits of Clothes, a little inconſiderable Houſhold-ſtuff, and that was all: For he would not have Marriage to be a matter of gain or traffick, but to be a ſociable State of Man and Wife for Procreation, and for mutual Endearment and Love. *Dionyſius* Tyrant of *Sicily*, when his Mother deſired him to marry her to a young *Syracuſian*, reply'd, *I have indeed overturn'd the Laws of my Country by my Tyranny, but cannot put a violence upon thoſe of Nature by a Marriage ſo diſproportion'd* with reſpect to the Age of the Parties. Such diſorder is never to be

ſuffer'd

ſuffer'd in a Commonwealth, nor ſuch unſeaſonable and ungrateful Matches, which neither anſwer the purpoſe nor end of Marriage. But any provident Governor or Lawgiver might ſay to an old Man that takes a young Wife, what is ſpoken to *Philoctetes* in the Tragedy; *Poor Wretch, in what a fit condition art thou to be married!* and if he finds a young Man with a rich old Woman, like a Partridge growing fat upon the duty, remove him to a Virgin that needs a Huſband; and of this enough.

Another Commendable Law of *Solon*'s, is That which forbids Men to ſpeak evil of the Dead; for 'tis pious to think deceaſed Perſons ſacred, and juſt not to meddle with Thoſe that are gone, and politick to prevent the perpetuity of diſcord. He likewiſe forbad them to ſpeak evil of the Living in the Temple, before the Tribunal, in the Court, or at the publick Games; or elſe to pay three Drachmas to the injur'd Perſon, and two to the publick: for never to be able to rule Paſſion, ſhews a weak Nature, and ill Breeding; and always to moderate it, is very hard, and to Some impoſſible. Now the matter of Laws muſt be poſſible, if the Maker deſigns to puniſh a Few in order to their amendment, and not Many to no purpoſe.

He is likewiſe much commended for his Law concerning Wills; for before that time no Man was allowed to make a Will; but all the Wealth and Eſtate of the deceaſed was to continue among the Relations. But he permitted them, if they had no Children, to beſtow it on whom they pleaſed; eſteeming Friendſhip a ſtronger Tye than Kindred, and Affection than Neceſſity; and thus made every man's Eſtate in the diſpoſal of the Poſſeſſor: yet he allow'd not all ſorts of Legacies, but thoſe only which were not extorted by the phrenzy of a Diſeaſe, Charms, Impriſonment, Force, or the perſuaſions of his Wife; with good reaſon thinking there was no great difference whether a Man be perſuaded or forced to do what is not fit: but putting the inducement of deceit and neceſſity, of pleaſure and pain

upon the ſame foot, ſince both are equally powerful to move a Man from the uſe of his Reaſon.

He alſo made a Law for the Conduct of the Women in their Journeys, Mournings, and Sacrifices, preventing thereby the Exceſs, Diſorder and Licentiouſneſs that had prevail'd before. When they went out of Town they were ſuffer'd to take no more with them than three Habits: the Expence of their Proviſions was confin'd to the Value of an *Obolus*, their Pannier or Baſket was not to be above a Cubit high; and at Night they were not to ſtir but in a Chariot, with a Torch before them. They were forbid to ſcratch or deface themſelves at Funerals, or do any thing elſe to force Tears and Lamentations from thoſe that follow'd the Corps, and were no ways related to the Deceas'd. To offer an Ox at the Grave was not permitted; nor to bury above three Garments with the Body, or viſit the Tombs of any beſides their own Family, unleſs at the very Funeral: moſt of which are likewiſe forbidden by our Laws; but this is farther added in Ours, that Thoſe that are convicted of extravagance in their Mournings, are to be puniſhed as ſoft and effeminate, by the Cenſors of the Women.

He obſerving the City was fill'd with Perſons that flock'd from all parts into *Attica* for ſecurity of living, and that moſt of the Country was barren and unfruitful; and that the Traders at Sea imported nothing to Thoſe that could give them nothing in exchange: he perſuaded the Citizens to apply themſelves to Mechanicks and Manufactures; and made a Law that no Son ſhould be obliged to relieve his Father, who had not bred him up to ſome Trade. 'Tis true, *Lycurgus* having a City free from all Strangers, and Land enough for a great many People, or (according to *Euripides*) *ſufficient for twice ſo many*; and abundance of *Helotes* about *Sparta*, who ſhould not be kept idle, but be broken with continual toil and work; he did well to take off his Citizens from Trades laborious and mechanical, and keep them to their Arms, ſo as to be well ſkilled and practiſed only

only in the Art of War. But *Solon* fitting his Laws according to the ſtate of Things, and not ordering Things according to his Laws; and finding the Ground ſcarce rich enough to maintain the Farmers, and altogether unable to feed the lazy Multitude, brought Trades into Credit, and ordered the *Areopagites* to examine how every Man got his Living, and chaſtiſe the Idle. But that Law was more rigid, which (as *Heraclides Ponticus* delivers) declar'd the Sons of Harlots not oblig'd to relieve their Fathers; for he that will not marry, doth not take a Woman for Children, but for Pleaſure, and thus hath his juſt reward, having no pretence to upbraid his Children, to whom he hath made their very Birth a ſcandal and reproach. But in ſhort, many of *Solon*'s Laws about Women ſeem to be abſurd: for he permitted any one to kill an Adulterer that was caught in the Fact; if any one forc'd a free Woman, a hundred Drachmas was the Fine; if he (8) acted as a Procurer, twenty; except Thoſe that traded for a price, I mean common Proſtitutes; for they go openly to Thoſe that hire them. He made it unlawful to ſell a Daughter, or a Siſter, unleſs, being yet unmarried, ſhe was found wanton with a Man. Now 'tis irrational to puniſh the ſame Crime ſometimes very ſeverely and without remorſe, and ſometimes very lightly and as 'twere in ſport, with a trivial Fine; unleſs there being little Money then in *Athens*, that ſcarcity made thoſe Mulcts the more grievous puniſhment. And indeed in the valuation of things to be ſacrificed he reckons a Sheep and a *Medimnus* of Corn, each at but a Drachma. The Victor in the *Iſthmian* Games was to have for reward a hundred Drachmas: The Conqueror in the *Olympian*, five hundred: He that caught a Dog Wolf, five Drachmas; he that kill'd a Bitch Wolf, One: the former Sum (as *Demetrius Phalereus* aſſerts) was the value of an Ox, the latter of a Sheep: for thoſe prices which in his ſixteenth Table he ſets on the choice Sacrifices were probably far greater, and yet even Theſe are very

(8) προαγωγεύη.

little in compariſon of the preſent. The *Athenians*, becauſe their Fields were better for Paſture than Corn, were from the beginning great Enemies to Wolves; and Some affirm their Tribes did not take their names from the Sons of *Ion*, but from the different ſorts of Occupation that they followed; the Soldiers were call'd *Hoplitæ*; the Craftſmen, *Ergatæ*; and of the remaining two, ſuch as tilled the Ground were called *Teleontes*, and the Shepherds and Grafiers, *Aigicores*. And foraſmuch as *Attica* was a dry parch'd Soil, without Rivers, or Lakes, where few Fountains were to be found, and where for the moſt part they had no other Water but what they drew out of Wells, which they had dug for that purpoſe, there was a Law made, that where there was a publick Well within a *Hippicon* (that is four Furlongs) All ſhould draw at That; but when it was farther off they might provide a private Well: and if they had dug ten fathom deep in their own Ground, and could find no Water, they had liberty to fetch a Veſſel of ſix Gallons twice a-day from their Neighbours: for he thought it prudent to make Proviſion againſt Want, but not to encourage Lazineſs. Beſides, he ſhew'd his ſkill in the Orders about Planting: for any one that would plant another Tree, was not to ſet it within five foot of his Neighbour's Field; and if a Fig or an Olive, not within nine: for their Roots ſpread farther, nor can they be planted near all ſorts of Trees without damage, for they draw away the nouriſhment, and hurt Some by their venomous effluviums. He that would dig a Pit or a Ditch, was to dig it as far diſtant from his Neighbour's Ground as it was deep: And He that would raiſe ſtocks of Bees, was to raiſe them at three hundred feet diſtance from Thoſe which Another had already rais'd. He permitted only Oil to be exported; and Thoſe that did export any other Fruit, the Archon was ſolemnly to curſe, or elſe himſelf to pay a hundred Drachmas: And this Law was written in his firſt Table; and therefore let none think Thoſe Liars that affirm, the exportation of Figs was heretofore forbidden, and the Informer againſt

againſt the Delinquents call'd a *Sycophant*. Beſides, he made a Law concerning hurts and injuries from Beaſts, in which he commands the Maſter of any Dog that bit a Man to deliver him up chained to a Yoke of four Cubits; and this was a pleaſant device for Mens ſecurity. The Law concerning naturalizing Strangers admits of ſome doubt, for he permitted only Thoſe to be made free of *Athens*, who were in perpetual Exile from their own Country, or came with their whole Family to exerciſe ſome Trade there; and this he did (as Some ſay) not to diſcourage Strangers, but rather invite them, by making them ſecure of the Privileges of the Government: And beſides, becauſe he thought Both theſe would prove the more faithful Citizens, the One out of neceſſity becauſe they had been forc'd from their own Country, the Other out of choice, becauſe they had voluntarily forſaken it.

But the Law for entertaining in publick was peculiar to *Solon*, which he himſelf called παρασιτεῖν [*i. e.* eating in publick, or at the publick Charge] for he allowed not the ſame Perſon to be entertain'd too often, and if He whoſe turn it was refuſed to come he puniſhed him, as concluding the one Caſe to be an inſtance of Greedineſs, the Other a contempt of the Publick. All his Laws he eſtabliſhed for an hundred Years, and writ them in Wooden Tables nam'd *Axones*, which might be turn'd round in oblong Caſes; ſome ſmall relicks of them are preſerved even to our time in the Common-hall at *Athens*. Theſe (as *Ariſtotle* affirms) were called *Cyrbes*; and *Cratinus* the *Comic* Poet ſomewhere ſays,

Of Solon *and of* Draco *ſmall account is made,*
Their very Cyrbes *now are uſed for parching Corn.*

But ſome ſay thoſe are properly *Cyrbes*, which contain the Laws concerning Sacrifices and the Rites of Religion, and all the Other, *Axones*. The Senate all jointly ſwore to confirm the Laws, and every one of the *Theſmothetæ*

made a peculiar Vow at the Stone in the Market-place, that if he brake any of the Statutes, he would dedicate a Golden Statue as big as himſelf, at *Delphi*.

Now obſerving the Irregularity of the Months, and that the Moon did not always riſe and ſet with the Sun, but often upon the ſame Day happen'd to overtake and go before him; he ordered that day to be nam'd ἔνη καὶ νέα, *the Old and New*; attributing that part of it which was before the Conjunction to the Old Moon, and the reſt to the New: being the firſt it ſeems that underſtood that Verſe of *Homer*,

Τῇ μὲν φθινούσῃ τε μιὴ, τῇ δ' ἱσταμένοιο.
Of the decreaſing and increaſing Month.

The following Day he called the *New Moon*; after the twentieth he counted not by adding, but ſubſtracting, and reckoned backward, according to the decreaſing Phaſes of the Moon, to the thirtieth.

Now when theſe Laws were enacted, and ſome came to *Solon* every day, either to commend or diſpraiſe them, and adviſe, if poſſible, to leave out, or put in ſomething; and Many were curious, and deſir'd him to explain, and tell the meaning of ſuch and ſuch a Paſſage; and he knowing that not to do it was diſobliging, and to do it, would get him Ill-will; and deſirous to bring himſelf out of all Straits, and take off all reaſons of Suſpicion from Thoſe that ſought them (for as he himſelf ſays, *In great Affairs 'tis hard to pleaſe all,*) as a reaſon for travelling he pretended himſelf Maſter of a Ship, and having obtain'd leave for ten Years abſence, he departed; for he hop'd by that time his Laws would become cuſtomary and familiar. His firſt Voyage was for *Ægypt*, and he liv'd (as he himſelf ſays)

Near Nilus' *Mouth, by fair* Canopus' *Shore.*

He ſpent ſome time in Study with *Pſenophis* of *Heliopolis* and *Sonchis* the *Saite*, the moſt learned of all the Prieſts;

Prieſts; from whom (as *Plato* ſays) getting an Account of the *Atlantick* Iſland, he put it into a Poem, and endeavour'd to bring it into Credit among the *Grecians*. From thence he ſail'd to *Cyprus*, where he was made much of by *Philocyprus* one of the Kings there, who had a ſmall City built by *Demophoon*, the Son of *Theſeus*, near the River *Clarius*, in a ſtrong Place, 'tis true, but barren and uneaſy of Acceſs. *Solon* perſuaded him, ſince there lay a fair Plain below, to remove the City, and build it more pleaſant and larger; and while he ſtaid there he took care of its building and peopling, and aſſiſted in fitting it both for Defence and Convenience of living: inſomuch that many new Inhabitants flock'd to *Philocyprus*, and the other Kings grew jealous; and therefore to honour *Solon*, he call'd the City *Solos*, which was formerly nam'd *Apeia*, that is High: and *Solon* himſelf in his Elegies ſpeaking to *Philocyprus*, mentions this Foundation in theſe Words;

Long may you live, and fill the Solian *Throne,*
Succeeded ſtill by Children of your own!
And whilſt from your bleſs'd Iſle I gently ſail,
Let Venus *ſend a kind and proſp'rous Gale:*
Let her enlarge the Bounds of your Command,
And raiſe your Town, and ſend me ſafe to Land.

There are Some who think the Story of *Solon*'s Interview with *Cræſus* a fiction, as not agreeable with Chronology; but I cannot reject ſo famous a Relation, and ſo well atteſted, and (what is more) ſo agreeable to *Solon*'s Temper, ſo worthy his Wiſdom and Greatneſs of Mind, becauſe forſooth it doth not agree with ſome Chronological Canons, which Thouſands have endeavour'd to regulate, and yet to this day could never bring the differing Accounts to any agreement. The Story is that *Solon* coming to *Sardis* at the requeſt of *Cræſus*, was in the ſame Condition, as an inland Man when firſt he goes to ſee the Sea: for as he fancies every River he meets with to be the Ocean, ſo *Solon*, as he

he paſs'd through the Court, and ſaw a great many Nobles richly dreſs'd, and proudly ſtrutting among a Crowd of Attendants and Guards, thought every one had been *Cræſus*, till at laſt he was brought to his preſence, and found him deck'd with all the Ornaments of Jewels, Purple and Embroidery, All that could make him fine and admir'd, that he might appear the moſt glorious and gaudy Spectacle. Now when *Solon* came before him, and ſeem'd not at all ſurpris'd, nor gave *Cræſus* thoſe Compliments he expected; but ſhew'd himſelf, to all diſcerning Eyes, to be a Man that deſpiſed ſuch inſolent vanity and weakneſs of judgment; he commanded them to open his Treaſury to him, and to carry him about and ſhew him his rich and coſtly Furniture, though he did not deſire to ſee it: for *Solon* wanted only to look upon him, to give a Judgment of the Man. When he return'd from viewing all This, *Cræſus* aſk'd him if ever he had ſeen a happier Man than he was? And when *Solon* anſwer'd he knew one; *Tellus* a fellow-Citizen of his, and told him that this *Tellus* was an honeſt Man, had good Children, a competent Eſtate all his Life, which he ended bravely fighting for his Country: *Cræſus* took him for an ill-bred Fellow, and a Clown, for not meaſuring Happineſs by the abundance of Gold and Silver; and for preferring the Life and Death of a mean and private Man, before ſo much Power and ſuch an Empire. However he aſk'd him again, if beſides *Tellus*, he knew any other Man more happy? And *Solon* replying, *Yes*, Cleobis *and* Bito, *who were very loving Brothers and extreme dutiful to their Mother; for when the Oxen were too long before they came, they put themſelves to the Waggon, and drew their Mother to* Juno's *Temple, who was extremely pleas'd with their Action, and call'd happy by her Neighbours; and then ſacrificing, and feaſting, they never roſe again, but died without Pain or Trouble immediately after they had gotten ſo great a Credit and Reputation. What,* ſays *Cræſus* angry, *and doſt not thou reckon us amongſt the number of happy Men?* And *Solon*, unwilling

ling either to flatter or exaſperate him more, reply'd, *Providence, O King of* Lydia, *has given the* Greeks *a moderate proportion of other things: and we have likewiſe ſome ſhare of a ſort of Wiſdom which looks bold, and by reaſon of its Mediocrity fit for mean and ordinary Perſons, not for ſuch as are of a Royal or ſplendid Condition; and This, obſerving the life of Man ſubject to all the varieties of fortune, forbids us to grow inſolent upon our preſent Enjoyments, or to admire any Man's Happineſs that may have a time of change, for what Variety will happen in future time to any Man is unknown: but to whom God hath continued Happineſs unto the end, that Man we call happy; but the Happineſs of Him that is yet alive, is like the Glory and Crown of a Wreſtler that is ſtill within the Ring, unſteady and uncertain.* After This he was diſmiſs'd, having griev'd, but not inſtructed *Cræſus*. But *Æſop*, he that writ the Fables (being then at *Sardis*, upon *Cræſus* his Inviation, and very much eſteem'd) was concern'd that *Solon* was ſo meanly treated, and gave him this Advice: *Solon, let your Viſits to Kings be as ſeldom, or as pleaſant as you can:* and *Solon* reply'd, *No in truth, but rather let them be as ſeldom, or as profitable as you can.* Then indeed *Cræſus* deſpis'd *Solon*, but when he was overcome by *Cyrus*, had loſt his City, was taken alive, condemn'd to be burnt, and laid bound upon the Pile before all the *Perſians* and *Cyrus* himſelf; he cry'd out as loud as poſſible he could three times, O *Solon! Cyrus* ſurpris'd, and ſending Some to enquire, what Man, or God this *Solon* was, who was the only Perſon he invok'd in this unavoidable Misfortune? *Cræſus* told him the whole Story, ſaying *he was one of the Wiſe Men of* Greece, *whom I ſent for, not to be inſtructed, or to learn any thing that I wanted, but that he ſhould ſee, and be a witneſs of that Happineſs, the loſs of which is now a greater Evil, than the enjoyment was a Good: for when I had it, the Good of it was ſuch only in Name and Opinion, but now the loſs of it at laſt hath in reality brought upon me grievous Troubles and incurable Calamities: and that*

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Man

Man conjecturing from what was then, what has ſince happen'd, bad me look to the end of my Life, and not rely and grow proud upon Uncertainties. When this was told *Cyrus*, who was a wiſer Man than *Cræſus*, and ſeeing in the preſent Example that *Solon*'s Saying was confirmed, he not only freed *Cræſus* from Puniſhment, but honour'd him as long as he lived; and *Solon* had the Glory, by the ſame Saying, to ſave One of theſe Kings and inſtruct the Other.

Solon was no ſooner gone, but the Citizens began to quarrel; *Lycurgus* headed Thoſe of the Champian part of the Country, *Megacles* the Son of *Alcmæon* Thoſe that liv'd towards the Sea, and *Piſiſtratus* the Mountaineers, among which were (9) a great Crowd of labouring People, the greateſt Enemies to the Rich: Inſomuch that tho' the City ſtill us'd their Laws, yet All look'd for a change, and deſired another form of Government, hoping that in the alteration they ſhould have not an equal but a larger ſhare, and be intire Maſters of the contrary Faction. Affairs ſtanding thus, *Solon* return'd, and was reverenced and honoured by All: But to ſpeak and act in publick as formerly, he was neither able nor willing by reaſon of his Age; however privately diſcourſing with the Heads of the Factions, he endeavoured to reconcile and compoſe the differences: *Piſiſtratus* eſpecially ſeeming to ſhew the greateſt regard to him, for he [*i. e. Piſiſtratus*] had ſomething very courteous and engaging in his Diſcourſe; was very ready to aſſiſt the Poor; and in caſes of Enmity was very moderate and tractable: and being very dextrous in putting on a ſemblance of thoſe Qualities which he had not by Nature, he got greater Credit, than Thoſe who really had them, of being thought a modeſt and fair Man, and one that particularly loved Equality, and would take it very ill if any one ſhould go about to alter the preſent Settlement, or ſo much as deſire Innovation, for by this means he deceived the People. But *Solon* preſently found him out, and was the firſt that ſaw to the bottom of his

(9) Θητικὸς ὄχλος.

his Deſigns. However he did not come to an open rupture with him upon This, but endeavoured to ſoften him and adviſe him better, and often told both him and Others, that *if any one would take away his aſpiring thoughts, and cure his deſire of Abſolute Rule, None would naturally make a more Virtuous Man, or a more Excellent Citizen.* *Theſpis* at this time beginning to change, or reform the Tragedy, the thing, becauſe it was new, took very much with the Multitude. (This was before it came to be a Prize Contention.) *Solon* who was by Nature a lover of Hearing and Learning, and now in his old Age giving himſelf more leiſure, ſporting and cheering himſelf with Muſick and a Glaſs of Wine, went to ſee *Theſpis* himſelf (as the ancient Cuſtom was) act; and after the Play was done, he diſcours'd him, and aſk'd him if he was not aſham'd to tell ſo many lies before ſuch a Company: and *Theſpis* replying, 'Tis no harm to ſay or do ſo in jeſt and merriment; *Solon* vehemently ſtriking his ſtaff againſt the Ground, *Ah*, ſays he, *if we honour and commend ſuch Merriment as this, we ſhall ſoon find it will creep into our ſerious affairs.* About this Time *Piſiſtratus*, who had wounded himſelf all over his Body, was by his own directions conducted in a Chariot into the Market-place, his Wounds bleeding freſh upon him, and ſtirred up the People, as if he had been thus dealt with by the treachery of his Enemies for his affection to the Government, and a great many ſhew'd their reſentment, and cry'd out at it. *Solon*, coming cloſe to him, ſaid, *O Son of* Hippocrates *you do not act the part of* Homer's Ulyſſes *well: for you take the ſame way to beguile your Citizens which he took to deceive his Enemies, when he wounded himſelf.* Notwithſtanding This the Rabble were ready to fight in defence of *Piſiſtratus*, and the People flock'd to the great Aſſembly; where one *Ariſton* making a motion that they ſhould allow *Piſiſtratus* fifty Club-men for a Guard to his Perſon, *Solon* roſe up and oppos'd it, and talk'd a great deal to the ſame purpoſe as he hath left us in his Poems:

You

You dote upon his Words and taking Phraſe,

And again,

True, each Man ſingle is a crafty Soul,
But all together make one giddy Fool:

But obſerving that the poorer ſort were ſet upon gratifying *Piſiſtratus*, and raiſing a Tumult, and the Rich fearful, and getting out of harms way, he took his leave; ſaying he was wiſer than Some, and ſtouter than Others: Wiſer than Thoſe that did not underſtand the deſign; Stouter than Thoſe that, tho' they underſtood it, were afraid to oppoſe the Tyranny. Now the People having paſt the Law, were not exact with *Piſiſtratus* about the number of his Club-men, but took no notice of it, tho' he had liſted and kept as many as he would, till he ſeiz'd the Citadel. When that was done, and the City in an uproar, *Megacles* with all the reſt of the Relations of *Alcmæon* preſently fled the Country. But *Solon*, tho' he was very old, and had None to back him, yet came into the Market-place, and made a Speech to his Citizens, ſometimes blaming their ſtupidity and meanneſs of Spirit, ſometimes paſſionately exhorting them, not thus tamely to loſe their Liberty; and likewiſe then ſpoke that memorable Saying, *That before 'twas an eaſier taſk to have ſtop'd the riſing Tyranny, but now the greater and more glorious Action to deſtroy it, when it was begun already, and had gathered ſtrength.* But All being afraid to ſide with him, he return'd home; and taking his Arms, he brought them out, and laid them in the Porch before his Door, with theſe words: *To the utmoſt of my power I have ſtriven for my Country and my Laws*; and then he buſied himſelf no more. His Friends adviſing him to leave the Country, he refus'd, but writ a Poem, and thus rattled the *Athenians*:

If now you ſmart, blame not the heav'nly Powers,
For they are good, the fault is only ours;

We

We gave him all our Forts, we took the Chain,
And now he makes us Slaves, yet we complain.

And when Many told him by way of advice that the Tyrant would have his Head for this, and aſked to what he truſted that he ventur'd to ſpeak ſo boldly, he reply'd *My old Age.* But for all this, when *Piſiſtratus* had got all into his power, he ſo honoured *Solon*, obliged and kindly entertain'd him, that *Solon* gave him his Advice, and approv'd many of his Actions: For he kept many of *Solon*'s Laws, obſerv'd them himſelf, and compell'd his Friends to do the like. And he himſelf, tho' then poſſeſt of abſolute Power, being accus'd of Murder before the *Areopagus*, came quietly to clear himſelf, but his Accuſer let fall the Indictment. And he added other Laws, one of which is, that the Maim'd in the Wars ſhould be maintain'd at the publick charge. But *Heraclides Ponticus* ſays, that *Piſiſtratus* follow'd *Solon*'s example in This, who had before determin'd it in the caſe of one *Therſippus* that was maim'd. And *Theophraſtus* aſſerts, that 'twas *Piſiſtratus*, not *Solon*, that made that Law againſt Lazineſs, which was the reaſon that the Country was better cultivated, and the City more free from diſturbance. *Solon* having begun a great Work in Verſe, concerning the Relation or Fable of the *Atlantick* Iſland, which he had learn'd from the wiſe Men in *Sais*, and which particularly concerned the *Athenians*, preſently grew weary of it; not (as *Plato* ſays) by reaſon of his multitude of buſineſs, but becauſe of his age, being diſcourag'd at the greatneſs of the Taſk: for theſe Verſes teſtify that he had leiſure enough.

Now I grow old, yet much I daily learn,

And again,

A Song, a Miſtreſs, and a glaſs of Wine,
Which are moſt Mens delights, are alſo mine.

But *Plato* having a desire to finish and beautify this Subject of the *Atlantick* Island, (which was as it were a fair Ground-plot in a fine Country, not yet inhabited, and which belonged to him by right of relation) begins it with making stately Entrances, noble Inclosures, large Courts, such as no Essay, no Fable, no Fiction ever had before: but beginning it late, he ended his Life before his Work; and so the Reader's trouble for the unfinish'd part is the greater, as the satisfaction he takes in that which is compleat is extraordinary: For as the City of *Athens* left only the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* unfinish'd, so *Plato*, amongst all his excellent Works, left this only Piece about the *Atlantick* Island imperfect. *Solon* liv'd after *Pisistratus* seiz'd the Government (as *Heraclides Ponticus* asserts) a long time; but *Phanias* the *Ephesian* says, not full two years: for *Pisistratus* began his Tyranny when *Comias* was Archon; and *Phanias* says, *Solon* dy'd under *Hegestratus*, who succeeded *Comias*. Now the Story that when his Body was burnt, the Ashes of it were scattered all round the Island *Salamis*, is too absurd to be believ'd, or to be any thing but a mere Fable; and yet 'tis written by many considerable Men, and *Aristotle* the Philosopher.

THE

THE LIFE OF *P. VAL. POPLICOLA.*

THIS being the Character of *Solon*, with him we now proceed to Compare *Poplicola*, ſo called by the *Roman* People at the Expiration of his firſt Conſulate, out of reſpect to his Merit; for his Paternal Name was *Valerius*, deſcended from that *Valerius* who was the principal Author of uniting the *Romans* and *Sabins* into one People; for He it was that chiefly perſuaded the two Kings to a Conference, and ſo reconciled them.

From this Man our *Valerius* (as they ſay) deriving his Extraction, was, even while *Rome* was yet under Kingly Government, very Eminent both for his Eloquence and Riches; the firſt of which he employed with great Integrity and Freedom in defence of Juſtice; and the Other in ſupplying the Neceſſities of Such as were in Want, with great Liberality and Kindneſs; from whence it might eaſily appear, that ſhould the Government fall into a Republick, he would ſoon become a chief Perſon in the Community. Now when

the People begun to hate and grow extreme weary of *Tarquinius Superbus*, (who had neither come fairly by the Government at firſt, but againſt all the Rules both of Religion and Juſtice, nor had exerciſed his Power like a legal King, but with the greateſt Inſolence and Tyranny) they took Occaſion to revolt upon account of the ſad Fate of *Lucretia*, who killed herſelf becauſe of the Rape committed upon her [by the Son of *Tarquin*:] And *Lucius Brutus*, who was very active to bring about a Change of Government, came firſt to *Valerius*, and finding him very ready to engage, with his Aſſiſtance expell'd the (1) King and his Party. And whilſt it was thought that the People would be inclined to chooſe a ſingle Perſon for their General, inſtead of the King, *Valerius* acquieſced, and willingly yields the Right of command to *Brutus*, who had been the Leader in bringing on the Democracy. But the very Name of Monarchy appearing to be very offenſive, and the People ſeeming leſs uneaſy to bear a Power divided, and therefore propoſing and calling out for Two; *Valerius* was in hopes that with *Brutus* he might be elected Conſul, but was diſappointed; for inſtead of *Valerius*, much againſt *Brutus*'s mind, *Collatinus*, the Husband of *Lucretia*, was choſen his Collegue; a Man no way ſuperior to *Valerius* in Virtue. But ſuch as had the greateſt Sway dreading the King's Party, (who ſtill us'd all Endeavours abroad and Solicitations at home to ſoften the People) were reſolv'd upon a Chieftain of an intenſe Hatred to them, as moſt likely never to give way to their Intereſt.

(1) τὰς βασιλεῖς.

Whereupon *Valerius* taking it much to heart, that he ſhould not be thought zealous enough to do his utmoſt for the Service of his Country, only becauſe he had ſuſtained no private Injury from the Inſolence of the Tyrants, abſented himſelf from the Senate, withdrew from the practice of the Bar, and quitted all publick Concerns: Which gave many People an occaſion of Diſcourſe and great Concern, who were afraid leſt he ſhould

ſhould out of reſentment join himſelf to the King's Party, and overturn the State and Settlement of the City, which was yet but in a tottering Condition. But when *Brutus*, who was jealous of ſome others, determin'd to give an Oath to the Senate upon the Sacrifice at the Altar; upon the day appointed *Valerius* came with great chearfulneſs into the *Forum*, and was the firſt Man that took an Oath never to give way in the leaſt, or ſubmit to *Tarquin*; but by force of Arms to maintain their Liberty: which gave great ſatisfaction to the Senate, and aſſurance to the Conſuls; and his Actions ſoon after confirmed the Sincerity of his Oath. For Ambaſſadors came from *Tarquin*, with Letters to cajole the People, and artificial Speeches full of gentleneſs and good-nature, whereby they thought eſpecially to corrupt and ſeduce the Populace, intimating, as from the King himſelf, that he had quitted his high inſolent Deſigns, and deſired nothing but Reaſon and Moderation. And when the Conſuls were of Opinion that theſe Men ſhould have an Audience in publick, *Valerius* would not ſuffer it, but was very earneſt to prevent any occaſion or pretence of raiſing new Diſturbance among the poorer ſort, and Such as were more weary of War than of Tyranny. Afterwards other Ambaſſadors arriv'd, who declar'd that *Tarquin* would reſign his Crown, and lay down his Arms, only capitulating for a Reſtitution to himſelf, to his Friends and Relations, of their Monies and Eſtates, to ſupport their Baniſhment. Now Several inclining to this Motion, and *Collatinus* in particular pleading for it; *Brutus*, who was of an inflexible Temper, and keen in his Reſentment, ruſh'd into the *Forum*, there proclaiming his Fellow-Conſul to be a Traitor, in that he was ſo ready to grant a Supply both for War and Tyranny to Thoſe to whom it would be very unreaſonable to allow even Means of Subſiſtence in their Baniſhment. This caus'd an Aſſembly of the Citizens, amongſt whom the firſt that ſpake was *Caius Minutius*, a private Man, who adviſ'd *Brutus*, and perſuaded the *Romans* to take care

that thoſe Goods ſhould be kept in their own Hands, to be employ'd againſt the Tyrants, rather than put into the Tyrants Hands, to be turn'd againſt them: Yet however 'twas the *Romans* Opinion, that ſince they enjoy'd the Liberty they had fought for, they ſhould not reject Articles of Peace for the ſake of the Goods, but to throw them out after the Tyrants. But the buſineſs of recovering the Goods was the leaſt part of *Tarquin*'s deſign; but the Demand ſounded the Humours of the People, and became a Preparatory to a Conſpiracy; which the Ambaſſadors were framing, while they delayed their return, under pretence of ſelling ſome of the Goods, keeping others ſafe, and ordering the reſt to be ſent away, till ſuch time as they corrupted two of the eminenteſt Families in *Rome*, namely that of the *Aquilians*, which had three Senators in it, and that of the *Vitellians*, which had Two: All Theſe, by the Mother's ſide, were Nephews to *Collatinus* the Conſul: and beſides, the *Vitellians* were likewiſe particularly allied to *Brutus*; for he married their Siſter, by whom he had ſeveral Children; Two of which, who were juſt come to age, the *Vitellians* drew in, as being their Relations and Companions, and prevailed upon them to become Partners in their Treaſon, aſſuring them withal, that if they would liſt themſelves in the noble Family of the *Tarquins*, and eſpouſe the Royal Intereſt, they would be freed from the *Stupidity* and *Cruelty* of their Father: (his Irreconcilement to Offenders they term'd *Cruelty*; and as to his *Stupidity*, it was what himſelf had long pretended to, and uſed as a Cloke for his ſecurity againſt the Tyrants: and he did not refuſe to take his Sirname [i. e. *Brutus*,] from thence ever after.) When upon theſe Inducements the Youths came to diſcourſe the *Aquilians*, all thought it convenient to oblige themſelves in a ſolemn and dreadful Oath, with the Ceremony of killing a Man and taſting his Blood, and touching his Entrails. For this purpoſe they met at the Houſe of the *Aquilians*. The Room where they intended to do

this

this wicked Act, was (as fit it ſhould) an unfrequented darkſome Place; and therefore they were not aware of a Slave named *Vindicius*, who had hid himſelf within it, not with any Deſign, or out of any Suſpicion of what was to follow; but being accidentally within, and ſeeing with how much *Haſte* and *Concern* they came in, he ſtopt ſhort out of fear to be diſcover'd, and plac'd himſelf behind a Cheſt, ſo as he might obſerve their Actions and overhear their Debates. The reſult was to kill the Conſuls, and they wrote Letters to *Tarquin* advertiſing the ſame, and intruſted them in the Hands of the Ambaſſadors, who lodged at the Place, as being entertained by the *Aquilians*, and were preſent at the treaſonable Conſult.

When they had done all This, and were departed, *Vindicius* creeping out privately, could not tell how to manage this ſurpriſing Buſineſs, but was at his Wits end about it; for he thought it a very hard Caſe (as indeed it was) to arraign the Sons for ſo execrable a Villany before *Brutus* their Father, or the Nephews before *Collatinus* their Uncle; and he judged that no private *Roman* was fit to be truſted with Secrets of ſuch Importance. But on the other hand, he could do any thing rather than conceal it; and ſo being forced by Conſcience, he applied himſelf in all haſte to *Valerius*, being induced to this chiefly by the known Generoſity and Kindneſs of the Man, who was a Perſon to whom the Needy had eaſy acceſs, and never ſhut his Gates againſt the Petitions or the Indigences of a low Eſtate: but when *Vindicius* came and made a total Diſcovery to him, his Brother *Marcus* and his own Wife being preſent at the Relation, *Valerius* was ſtruck with Amazement, and by no means would diſmiſs the Diſcoverer, but confin'd him in a Chamber, and plac'd his Wife as a Guard at the Door, ſending his Brother in the interim to beſet the King's Palace, and to ſeize, if poſſible, their Letters, and ſecure the Domeſticks; whilſt He with his conſtant attendance of Clients and Friends, and a great retinue of Servants, repair'd to the Houſe of the

the *Aquilians*, who were abſent from home; and therefore before any one could ſo much as ſuſpect his Deſign, he forced his entrance thro' the Gates, and found the Letters in the Lodgings of the Ambaſſadors. Whilſt things were in this motion, the *Aquilians* made an haſty return, and muſtering themſelves about the Gate, endeavour'd a recovery of the Letters: But *Valerius* and his Party made a reſiſtance, and caſting their Gowns about their Necks, after much ſtruggling on both ſides, at length hurried them with great difficulty through the Streets into the *Forum*. The like Engagement happen'd about the King's Palace, where *Marcus* ſeiz'd ſome other Letters, deſign'd to be convey'd away in the Goods, and laying hands on what Servants his induſtry could find, drag'd them alſo into the *Forum*. When the Conſuls had quieted the tumult, *Vindicius* was brought out by the Orders of *Valerius*, and the Accuſation being formed, the Letters were read, to which the Traitors had not the confidence to make any Reply. All the Aſſembly ſtood mute and dejected; there were Some, to ingratiate themſelves with *Brutus*, mention'd Baniſhment; and the Tears of *Collatinus*, attended with *Valerius*'s ſilence, gave ſome hopes of Mercy. But *Brutus* calling each of his Sons by their Names, *Come*, ſays he, *O* Titus, *and You* Valerius, *why do you not plead to this Indictment?* The Queſtion being thrice propos'd, and no return made to *Brutus*, he turn'd himſelf to the Lictors, and cry'd, *What remains is your Duty*. The Lictors preſently ſeiz'd the Youths, and ſtripping them of their Garments, bound their Hands behind them, and tore their Bodies with Scourges; and though Others could not bear to look upon ſo tragical a Scene, yet 'tis ſaid that *Brutus* himſelf never once turned away his Eyes, nor ſuffered the leaſt glance of Pity to ſoften and ſmooth his wonted Rigour and Auſterity, but reſolutely beheld the Execution of the two Youths, even till the Lictors, extending them on the Ground, with an Ax cut off their Heads; then he departed, committing the reſt to the Judgment of his Collegue.

Collegue. This was an Action of ſo extraordinary a nature, that either it cannot be ſufficiently commended, or ſufficiently diſpraiſed, as it deſerves; for either the greatneſs of his Virtue rais'd his Mind above the Impreſſions of Sorrow, or the extravagancy of his Paſſion took away all Senſe of it: but neither the One nor the Other could be of an ordinary kind, or ſuch as is common to *Human* Nature, but muſt be deemed either (2) *Divine* or *Bruti ſh*. However it is more reaſonable that our Judgment in this caſe ſhould be determined by the great Reputation of the Man, than that his Virtue ſhould be queſtioned upon account of the weakneſs of Such as pretend to paſs Sentence upon it. For in the general Opinion of the *Romans* it was not ſo great and glorious an Undertaking in *Romulus* to found the City, as it was in *Brutus* to frame and ſettle the Commonwealth.

(2) Ἢ θεῖον, ἢ θηριῶδες.

Upon *Brutus*'s departure out of the *Forum*, a Conſternation, Horror and Silence for ſome time poſſeſs'd All that reflected on what was done: beſides, the eaſineſs and forbearance of *Collatinus* gave Confidence to the *Aquilians* to requeſt ſome time to anſwer their Charge, and that *Vindicius* their Servant ſhould be remitted into their hands, and no longer harbour'd amongſt their Accuſers. When the Conſul ſeemed willing to yield to their Motion, and thereupon was juſt going to diſſolve the Aſſembly; *Valerius* would neither deliver up *Vindicius*, who was encircled with the Rabble, nor ſuffer the People to withdraw, ſo as to let the Traitors eſcape; but at length laid violent Hands upon the *Aquilii*, and calling *Brutus* to his aſſiſtance, exclaim'd againſt the unreaſonable Proceedings of *Collatinus*, to impoſe upon his Collegue the (3) *neceſſity of taking away the Lives of his own Sons*, and yet have thoughts of gratifying ſome Women with the Lives of Traitors and Enemies to their Country. *Collatinus* the Conſul highly reſenting this, and commanding *Vindicius* to be apprehended,

(3) Ἀνάγκλωπαιδοφονίας.

hended, the Lictors diſpers'd the Rabble, and ſeiz'd their Man, and beat off whoſoever endeavour'd a Reſcue. But *Valerius*'s Friends withſtood the ſeizure, and the People cry'd out for *Brutus*; who returning immediately, after ſilence made, told them, that *as to his own Sons himſelf was ſufficient to paſs judgment upon them, but as to the Caſe of the Others he left it to the Citizens, who were now at Liberty*; *and therefore* (ſays he) *let every Man ſpeak his Pleaſure, and gain the People over to his Perſuaſion.* But there was no need of Oratory, for it being referr'd to the Vote, they were return'd condemn'd by all the Suffrages, and were accordingly beheaded.

Collatinus, it ſeems, was ſomewhat ſuſpected before, by reaſon of his near Relation to the King's; and beſides, One of his Names gave ſome diſguſt to the People, who abominated the Name of *Tarquin*. But when the forementioned Occaſion happen'd, perceiving he had offended the whole People, he relinquiſh'd his Charge, and departed the City. The Court being call'd, in his room *Valerius* honourably obtain'd the Conſulſhip, as a juſt Reward of his good Will; of which he thought *Vindicius* deſerv'd a ſhare, and therefore in the firſt place made him a free Citizen of *Rome*, and gave him the privilege of voting in what Tribe ſoever he was pleas'd to be enroll'd: (Which liberty in voting, *Appius* a long time after, out of a popular deſign, granted to all Freedmen) and from this *Vindicius*, a perfect Manumiſſion is call'd to this Day *Vindicta*. This done, the Goods of the Kings are expos'd to Plunder, and the Palace to Ruin: The pleaſanteſt part of the *Campus Martius* had been poſſeſs'd by *Tarquin*; this they devoted to the Service of that God; the Corn upon it happen'd to be then juſt reaped, and the Sheaves yet lodging on the Ground, they thought it not reaſonable to commit them to the Flail, or make any uſe of them becauſe they were conſecrated; but All with one Conſent fell to work, and carried the Shocks to the River, and withal cut down the Trees and threw Them

Them in alſo, leaving the Soil (intirely bare and clear from any thing growing upon it) to the Deity. Now Theſe thrown in in great quantities One upon Another, and cloſing together, the Stream could not carry far, but only to the place where what was firſt thrown in ſunk, and ſtuck to the bottom. And thus whatever was thrown in after, finding no farther conveyance, was there ſtop'd and interwoven together, ſo that the Stream work'd the Maſs into a firmneſs, and waſh'd down Mud, which ſettling there, became an Acceſſion of Matter as well as Cement to the Rubbiſh; inſomuch that the violence of the Current could not remove it, but forc'd all things to it, and then with a gentle preſſure clos'd it together, which by reaſon of its bulk and ſituation was capable of growing ſtill bigger, and becoming firm Ground, able to retain the greateſt part of what the Stream brought down. This is now the Iſland called *Holy Iſland*, which lies by the City, and has upon it divers Temples of the Gods, with ſpacious Portico's, and is call'd in the *Latin* Tongue *inter duos pontes*. Tho' Some ſay, this happened not at the dedication of *Tarquin*'s Field, but in after-times, when *Tarquinia*, a Veſtal Prieſteſs, gave another adjacent Field to the Publick, and for That obtain'd great Honours, as amongſt the reſt, that of all Women She alone ſhould be allowed to give her Teſtimony in Court; but when they alſo decreed her the Liberty to Marry, ſhe refuſed it: and this is the Story which Some give of the Matter.

But *Tarquin*, deſpairing of a return to his Kingdom by the Conſpiracy, found a kind Reception amongſt the *Tuſcans*, who with a great Army lead him out into the Field; the Conſuls headed the *Romans* againſt them, and made their rendezvous in the holy Places, the one call'd the *Arſian* Grove, the other the *Æſuvian* Meadow: When they came *to charge*, *Aruns* the Son of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the *Roman* Conſul, encountring each other, not by Chance but out of a malicious Rage, (the One againſt a Tyrant and Enemy to his Country, the

the Other to be revenged for his Baniſhment) ſet Spurs to their Horſes, and engaging with Fury inſtead of Prudence, grew unmindful of their own Security, and ſo fell together in the Combat. This ſo dreadful an Onſet hardly enſur'd a more favourable End; but both Armies doing and receiving equal damage, were diverted by a Storm. Now *Valerius* was much concern'd, as not knowing the Succeſs of the Day; and ſeeing his Men as much diſmayed at the ſight of their own Dead, as reviv'd at the loſs of the Enemy; ſo undiſcernable alike had the greatneſs of the Slaughter made the appearance; and moreover, each ſide upon a near view of their own loſs, were more inclined to judge themſelves defeated, rather than by their uncertain gueſſes at the Enemies loſs to think they had gained the Victory. But when Night came on, (and ſuch a Night as one may preſume muſt follow ſuch a Battle) and the Armies were laid to reſt, they write, that the *Grove ſhook* and murmured a Voice, ſaying, that the *Tuſcans* had loſt One Man more than the *Romans*. This was eſteem'd as an Oracle, and the *Romans* preſently entertain'd it with ſhouts and expreſſions of joy: whilſt the *Tuſcans* through fear and amazement deſerted their Tents, and were moſt of them diſpers'd. The *Romans* falling upon the Remains, which amounted to nigh five thouſand, took them Priſoners, and plunder'd the Camp: When they numbred the Dead, they found on the *Tuſcans* ſide eleven thouſand and three hundred, and on the *Romans* ſide as many, excepting only one Man. This Fight happen'd upon the laſt of *February*, and *Valerius* triumph'd upon the Conqueſt, being the firſt Conſul that made his Entry in a Chariot with four Horſes. This made a very fine and magnificent Shew; neither did it (as Some ſuggeſt) move any Envy or Indignation in the Spectators, for then it would not have continued to be a Matter of Emulation or Ambition ſo many Ages after. The People applauded likewiſe the Honours he did to his Collegue, in ſetting forth his Obſequies with a Funeral Oration; which ſo pleas'd

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the *Romans*, and found ſo good a Reception, that from thence it became cuſtomary for the beſt Men to celebrate the Funerals of great and good Men with Speeches in their Commendation. This Oration of his is ſaid to be older than any Funeral Orations among the *Greeks*: unleſs, according to the Orator *Anaximenes*'s Account, we acknowledge *Solon* to have been Author of the Cuſtom.

But that part of *Valerius*'s behaviour, which gave offence and diſguſt to the People, was This: that *Brutus* (whom they eſteem'd as the very Father of their Liberty) had not preſum'd to lord it without a Collegue, but firſt aſſum'd One and then Another to him as Partner in the Government: *whereas* Valerius (ſaid they) *drawing All into his own Power, becomes a Succeſſor not to* Brutus's *Conſulate, to which he has no relation; but to* Tarquin's *Tyranny. To what purpoſe is it* (ſay they) *in Words to harangue the Memory of* Brutus, *when in his Actions he imitates* Tarquinius, *coming out ſingle with all the Rods and Axes to attend him, and from an Houſe more ſtately than the King's Palace which he demoliſhed.* And the Truth is, *Valerius* dwelt in a very grand Houſe on the top of *Velia*, and ſo commanded the *Forum*, looking down from an Eminence upon all below; the Approach to it was difficult from without; ſo that when he came down with his train, it made a very pompous Appearance, like the State of a King. But *Valerius* ſhew'd how much it imported Men in Power and great Offices to have Ears open to freedom of Speech and the relation of Truth rather than Flattery; for upon his Friends remonſtrances, finding that the People thought amiſs of him, he neither diſputed nor reſented the Matter, but immediately overnight got together a great Number of Workmen, pulled down his Houſe, and levell'd it with the Ground; ſo that in the Morning the People flocking thither to ſee the Ruins, they lov'd and admir'd the generoſity of the Man, but were grieved for the Houſe, and regretted the loſs of ſo large and beautiful a Fabrick, (as they

would That of a Man put to Death in a heat, without the Forms of a legal Proceſs,) undeſervedly demoliſh'd to ſatisfy the Envy and Malice of Others: They were concerned likewiſe for their chief Magiſtrate, as for one that was now without Houſe and Home, and forced to take up his Habitation with others. For *Valerius* was entertained by his Friends, till the People gave him Ground, and an Houſe was built upon it leſs ſtately than the former, in the Place where now ſtands the Temple of *Vicus Publicus*.

And now reſolving to make the Government, as well as himſelf, inſtead of being terrible, become eaſy and grateful to the Populace, he took away the Axes from the Rods, which always upon his entrance into the Aſſembly, with an humble ſubmiſſion he vail'd to the People, as forming thereby a fine appearance of *Democracy*, (or Sovereignty in the People:) and this the Conſuls obſerve to this day. But the People were not aware that This was done not to lower himſelf, as They imagined, but to keep down and abate their Envy by this Moderation; and that in reality it procur'd to his Perſon as much real Power as it ſeemed to detract from the Authority of his Poſt, while the People ſubmitted to him with pleaſure, and bore every thing willingly, inſomuch that they gave him the Name of *Poplicola*, which ſignifies *One that honours the People*; which Name got the better of all his former Names, and therefore this Name we ſhall uſe in relating the Sequel of his Life.

And now he gave free leave to Any to ſue, for the vacant Conſulſhip; but before the admittance of a Colleague, miſtruſting what might follow if his emulation or ignorance ſhould croſs his deſigns, by his own Authority he enacted ſome good and noble Conſtitutions. Firſt he ſupply'd the vacancies of the Senators, which either *Tarquin* had long before put to death, or the War had lately cut off; Thoſe that were regiſtred, They write, amounted to One hundred threeſcore and four: afterwards he made ſeveral Laws, which added much to

to the Peoples liberty; as One, granting Offenders the liberty of appealing to the People from the censure of the Consuls; a Second, that made it Death for any one to accept the Magistracy without the Peoples consent; a Third for the relief of poor Citizens, which taking off their Taxes encourag'd their labours; Another against Disobedience to the Consuls, which was no less popular than the rest, and rather to the benefit of the Commonalty, than to the advantage of the Nobles; for it impos'd upon this Disobedience the penalty of five Oxen and two Sheep; the price of a Sheep being ten *Oboli*, of an Ox an hundred. For the use of Money was then infrequent amongst the *Romans*, their Wealth consisting in a plenty of Cattle; so that afterwards their Estates were call'd (4) *Peculia* from *Pecus*, i. e, *Cattle*, and had upon their ancient Money engrav'd an Ox, a Sheep, or an Hog; and hence sirnam'd their Sons *Suilli*, *Bubulci*, *Caprarii*, and *Porcii*, (they calling *Capræ* Goats, and *Porci* Hogs.) These Laws shew'd the evenness and the popularity of the Giver; yet amidst this moderation he instituted one excessive Punishment, for he made it lawful without accusation to take away any Man's Life that aspir'd to be King, and acquitted the Executioner, if he produc'd Evidence of the Crime; for though 'twas not possible, that One, whose designs were so great, should escape all notice, yet because 'twas possible his usurp'd Power might prevent Punishment, he gave a Licence to any to (5) *prevent the Usurper*. He was honour'd likewise for the Law touching the Treasury; whereas the Citizens were obliged to contribute out of their Estates to the Wars, he would neither be himself concern'd in the disposal of the publick Money, nor suffer any of his Friends; and that the publick Money might never fall into private Hands, he allotted the Temple of *Saturn* for the Treasury (in which to this Day they reposite the Tribute-Money) and granted the People

(4) Πεκȣ́λια ἀπὸ τ̃ προβάτων.

(5 Προλαβεῖν κ̃ τȣ̃ ἀδικȣ̃ντος.

liberty of chooſing two young Men as (6) *Queſtors*, i. e. *Treaſurers*; and the Firſt were *P. Veturius* and *Minutius Marcus*, there being a great Sum collected, for they aſſeſs'd one hundred and thirty thouſand, excuſing Orphans and Widows from the Payment. Affairs ſtanding in this poſture, he admitted *Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, as his Collegue, and gave him the precedence in the Government, by reſigning up the *Faſces*, i. e. *Rods*, to him, as due to his Years; which humble obſervance to Age is preſerv'd to this Day. But within a few Days *Lucretius* dy'd, and *Marcus Horatius* ſucceeded in that Honour, and continu'd the remaining part of the Year. (6) ταμίας.

Now whilſt *Tarquin* was making Preparations in *Tuſcany* for a ſecond War againſt the *Romans*, 'tis ſaid a portentous Accident fell out. While *Tarquin* was as yet King, and had almoſt finiſhed the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, he deſigning, whether from a Divine Impulſe, or his own Pleaſure, to erect an Earthen Chariot upon the top, intruſted the Workmanſhip to *Tuſcans* of the City *Veii*, but ſoon after was oblig'd to retire from his Kingdom: the Work when modell'd, the *Tuſcans* ſet in a Furnace, but the Clay ſhew'd not thoſe paſſive Qualities which uſually attend its Nature, to ſubſide and be condens'd upon the Exhalations of the moiſture, but roſe up and ſwell'd to that bulk, that being conſolidated and firm, notwithſtanding the removal of the Head and breaking down the Walls of the Furnace, it could not be taken out without much difficulty. The Wiſe Men look'd upon this as a Divine Prognoſtick of Succeſs and Power to Thoſe that ſhould enjoy it, and the *Tuſcans* reſolv'd not to deliver it to the *Romans*, who demanded it; but anſwer'd, that it rather belong'd to *Tarquin* than to Thoſe that forc'd him into Exile. A few Days after, whilſt they were celebrating the Horſe-Races at *Veii*, with the uſual Shows and Solemnities; the Charioteer who had gain'd the Prize, with his Crown on his Head, ſoftly driving his Victorious Chariot out of the Ring, the Horſes, upon no apparent occaſion, ſtarted on

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a ſudden, and either by a Divine Inſtigation, or mee Accident, hurry'd away their Driver full ſpeed to *Rome* neither did his holding them in prevail, or his (7) *gentle Soothings*, but with Violence was forc'd along, till coming near the Capitol, was there thrown by the Gate call'd *Ratumena*. This Occurrence rais'd Wonder and Fear in the *Veians*, who upon this permitted a delivery of the Chariot.

(7) ἠδὲ παραμυθίαις.

Now *Tarquin*, the Son of *Demaratus*, warring with the *Sabins*, had made a Vow to build a Temple to *Jupiter* in the Capitol, which *Tarquin* the *Proud*, the Son or Grandſon of him that had made this Vow, began, but could not dedicate it, becauſe he loſt his Kingdom before 'twas finiſh'd. When 'twas compleated and adjuſted with all its Ornaments, *Poplicola* had a great Ambition to Dedicate it; but many of the Nobility, though they envy'd not the Honours due to his great Services in Peace and War, yet could not bear that he ſhould uſurp That, which, they ſaid, belong'd to Another: and therefore they importun'd *Horatius* to ſue for the Dedication; and whilſt *Poplicola* was engag'd to lead the Army into the Field, voted it to *Horatius*, and accordingly conducted him to the Capitol, aſſuring themſelves, that were *Poplicola* preſent, they ſhould not have prevail'd. Yet Some write, *Poplicola* was by Lot deſtin'd againſt his Will to the Army, and *Horatius* to the Dedication; but it is eaſy to judge of what paſt between them on this Affair, from what happen'd on the day of the Dedication: for upon the Ides of *September*, which happens about the Full-Moon of the Month *Metagitnion*, the People flocking to the Capitol, and Silence enjoin'd, *Horatius*, after the Performance of other Ceremonies, holding the Doors, according to cuſtom, was going to pronounce the Words of Dedication; when *Marcus*, Brother of *Poplicola*, who had ſtood for ſome time at the Door, obſerving his opportunity, cry'd, *O Conſul, thy Son lies dead in the Camp*; which made great Impreſſions upon the Auditory, yet in no wiſe diſcompos'd

Horatius, who made only this Reply, *Then caſt the dead out whither you pleaſe, for I ſhall not admit of Sorrow*; and ſo went on with the Dedication. This News was not true, but *Marcus* thought the Lie might avert him from his Performance. This argu'd him a Man of an admirable Conſtancy, whether he preſently ſaw through the Cheat, or believ'd it as true, without ſhewing any Diſcompoſure in his Paſſions. The ſame Succeſs attended the Dedication of the Second Temple: The Firſt, which was built by *Tarquin*, and dedicated by *Horatius*, was burn'd down in the Civil Wars. The Second *Sylla* built, and dying before the Dedication, bequeath'd that Honour to *Catulus*; but when This was demoliſh'd in the *Vitellian* Sedition, *Veſpaſian* with ſomewhat more Succeſs began a Third, ſaw it finiſh'd, and liv'd not to ſee its Ruin: In this he was more fortunate than *Sylla*, who died before the Dedication of his Work, the *Other* before the Deſtruction of it, for no ſooner was *Veſpaſian* dead but the Capitol was burnt. A Fourth was built by *Domitian*, and dedicated. 'Tis ſaid *Tarquin* expended forty thouſand Pound of Silver in the very Foundations; but the greateſt Treaſure of any private Man in *Rome* wou'd not diſcharge the Gilding of this Temple in our Days, it amounting to above twelve thouſand Talents: the Pillars were cut out of (8) *Pentelick* Marble, having Length ſuitable to their Thickneſs, and theſe we ſaw at *Athens*; but when they were cut anew at *Rome*, and embelliſh'd, they gain'd not ſo much in Beauty, as they loſt in Proportion, being render'd (9) *too taper and ſlender*. Now Whoſoever ſhou'd admire the Excellency of the Capitol, and afterwards ſurvey a Gallery in *Domitian*'s Palace, or an Hall, Bath, or the Apartments of his Concubines; what *Epicarmus* wrote of a profuſe Man,

(8) Πεντέλησιν.

(9) διάκονοι καὶ λαγαροὶ.

Οὐ φιλάνθρωπ' τό γ' ἐθὶ ἔχεις νόσον, χαίρεις διδὲς,

Thou

Thou art not generous, thy Bounty's Vice within,
Thy Gifts thou laviſh'ſt, and glory'ſt in the Sin;

he might readily apply it to *Domitian*, *Thou art neither pious or noble, only pleaſing thyſelf in the Itch of Building, and a Deſire, like* Midas, *of converting all into Gold and precious Stones.* And thus much for this matter.

Tarquin, after the great Battle wherein he loſt his Son engaging in ſingle Duel with *Brutus*, fled to *Cluſium*, and ſought Aid from *Clara Porſenna*, then the moſt powerful Prince of *Italy*, and a Perſon of ſingular Candour and Generoſity, who aſſur'd him of his Aſſiſtance, immediately ſending his Commands to *Rome*, that they ſhould receive *Tarquin* as their King; and upon the *Romans* Refuſal proclaim'd War, and having ſignify'd the Time and Place where he intended his Aſſault, approach'd with a great Army. Now *Poplicola* in his abſence was choſen Conſul a ſecond time, and *Titus Lucretius* his Collegue; but returning to *Rome*, and deſirous to be thought more brave than *Porſenna*, he built the City *Sigliuria* notwithſtanding the approach of *Porſenna* and walling it at a great expence, there plac'd a Colony of ſeven hundred Men, that it might be thought he was little concern'd at the War: In the mean time *Porſenna*, making a ſharp Aſſault, oblig'd the Defendants to retire to *Rome*, who had almoſt in their Entrance admitted the Enemy into the City, had not *Poplicola*, by ſallying out at the Gate, prevented them, and joining Battle by *Tiber* ſide, oppos'd the Enemy, that preſs'd on with their multitude; but at laſt ſinking under his honourable Wounds, was carried out of the Fight. The ſame fortune befell *Lucretius*, ſo that the *Romans* being diſmay'd retreated into the City for their ſecurity, and *Rome* was in great hazard of being taken, the Enemy making good their purſuit to the Wooden Bridge, where *Horatius Cocles*, ſeconded by two of the eminenteſt Men in *Rome*, *Herminius* and *Spurius Lartius*, made head againſt them. (This name he obtain'd from the loſs of one of his Eyes in the Wars; or as Others write, from the depreſ-

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(1) ὀφρῦς συνεχῦσθαι.

ſure of his Noſe, which cauſed a ſeeming (1) *coalition of his Eye-brows*, and made both Eyes appear but as One; and hence they intending to call him *Cyclops*, by a defect in Pronunciation, they uſually call'd him *Cocles*.) This *Cocles* kept the Bridge, and repuls'd the Enemy, till his own Party broke it down behind, and then in his Armour caſt himſelf into the River, and ſwam to the hither ſide, being wounded upon his Hip with a *Tuſcan* Spear. *Poplicola* admiring his Courage, obliged the *Romans* to tax themſelves, and ſeverally to make a Preſent to *Horatius* of as much as each of them reſpectively ſpent in a day, and afterwards they gave him as much Land as he himſelf could encircle with a Plough in one day; beſides they erected a brazen Statue to his honour in the Temple of *Vulcan*, as a requital for the Lameneſs he contracted from his Wound. But *Porſenna* laying cloſe Siege to the City, a Peſtilence raged amongſt the *Romans*, beſides a new Army of the *Tuſcans* made Incurſions into the Country; *Poplicola* therefore, a third time choſen Conſul, thought it the ſafeſt way to keep upon the Defenſive, and choſe rather to gain upon the Enemy by Stratagem, than to make any Sally upon them. It was neceſſary to remove them farther off, when he found they committed waſte up to the very Gates of *Rome*, and therefore in an Ambuſcade he had laid for them, five thouſand of them fell upon the Spot. Now the Hiſtory of *Mutius* is variouſly deliver'd, but this Relation ſhall follow that Account which appears to us moſt probable: He was a Perſon endow'd with every Virtue, but moſt eminent in Warfare; and reſolving to kill *Porſenna*, attired himſelf in the *Tuſcan* Habit, and uſing their Language came to the Camp, enter'd into the King's Quarters, and approaching the Seat where the King ſat amongſt his Nobles, but not of a certainty knowing the King, and yet fearful to enquire, drew out his Sword, and ſtab'd Him who amongſt all the Reſt made the likelieſt appearance of a King. *Mutius* was taken in the act, and put under Examination. A Pan of Fire being brought

brought to the King, who intended to ſacrifice, *Mutius* thruſt his right Hand into the Flame, and whilſt it burnt, beheld *Porſenna* with a ſtedfaſt and undaunted Countenance. *Porſenna* admiring the Man, diſmiſs'd him, and return'd his Sword, reaching it from his Seat; *Mutius* receiv'd it in his left hand, which occaſion'd the Name of *Scævola*, i. e. *left-handed*; and ſaid, *I have overcome the Terrors of* Porſenna, *yet am vanquiſh'd by his Generoſity, and Gratitude obliges me to diſcover what no Puniſhment could extort*; and aſſur'd him then, that three hundred *Romans*, All of the ſame Reſolution, lurk'd about his Camp, only waiting for an opportunity; and that He by Lot deſtin'd to make the firſt Attempt, was not troubled he miſcarry'd in the Succeſs, becauſe He was ſo good a Man, and deſerv'd rather to be a Friend to the *Romans* than an Enemy. To This *Porſenna* gave credit, and thereupon expreſs'd an Inclination to a Truce; not, I preſume, ſo much out of fear of the three hundred *Romans*, as an admiration of the *Roman* Courage. All other Writers call this Man *Mutius Scævola*: yet *Athenodorus Sandon*, in a Book wrote to *Octavia*, *Cæſar*'s Siſter, avers he was alſo call'd *Opſigonus*, that is *Poſthumus*. *Poplicola* not ſo much eſteeming *Porſenna*'s Enmity dangerous to *Rome*, as his Friendſhip and Alliance ſerviceable, was induc'd to refer the Controverſy betwixt him and *Tarquin* to His Arbitration, and ſeveral times ſummon'd *Tarquin* to appear, and make his Defence, undertaking to prove him the worſt of Men, and juſtly depriv'd of his Kingdom: But *Tarquin* proudly reply'd, he would admit no Judge, much leſs *Porſenna*, that had revolted from his Confederacy. *Porſenna* reſenting this Anſwer, and miſtruſting the Equity of his Cauſe, being likewiſe ſolicited to it by his Son *Aruns*, who was earneſt for the *Roman* Intereſt, made a Peace on theſe Conditions, That they ſhould reſign the Country they had taken from the *Tuſcans*, and reſtore all Priſoners, and receive their Fugitives. To confirm the Peace, the *Romans* gave as Hoſtages ten of the

the Nobility's Sons, and as many Daughters, amongſt whom was *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Poplicola*.

Upon theſe aſſurances, *Porſenna* ceas'd from all Acts of Hoſtility, and the *Roman* Virgins went down to the River to bathe, at that part where the Crookedneſs of the Bank embracing the Waters, rendered them ſmooth and ſerene; and ſeeing no Guard, or Any coming or going over, were encouraged to ſwim over, notwithſtanding the depth and the violence of the Stream. Some affirm that one of them, by Name *Clœlia*, paſſing over on Horſeback, perſuaded the reſt to follow; but upon their ſafe arrival coming to *Poplicola*, he neither admir'd or approv'd their return, but was concern'd, leſt he ſhould appear leſs faithful than *Porſenna*, and this boldneſs in the Virgins ſhould argue (2) *Treachery in the Romans*; ſo that apprehending them, he ſent them back to *Porſenna*. But *Tarquin*'s Men having Intelligence thereof, laid a ſtrong Ambuſcade on the other ſide for Thoſe that conducted them; who ſkirmiſhing together, *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Poplicola*, ruſh'd through the Enemy and fled, and with the aſſiſtance of Three of her Retinue made good her Eſcape; whilſt the reſt were dangerouſly hedg'd in by the Soldiers. *Aruns*, *Porſenna*'s Son, having Intelligence of their Danger, haſten'd to their reſcue, and putting the Enemy to flight, deliver'd the *Romans*. When *Porſenna* ſaw the Virgins return'd, and demanding who was the Author and Abetter of the Deſign, and underſtanding *Clœlia* to be the Perſon, he look'd upon her with a Countenance equally chearful and compaſſionate, and commanding one of his Horſes to be brought ſumptuouſly adorn'd, made her a Preſent of it. This is produced as an evidence by Thoſe, who affirm that *Clœlia* only paſs'd the River on Horſeback; Thoſe who deny it, eſteem'd it only as an Honour the *Tuſcans* did to her Courage, which had incited her Companions to ſo hardy an Enterpriſe. However it be, her Effigies on Horſeback ſtands in the *Via Sacra*, as it leads

(2) Κακέργημα Ῥωμαίων.

to

to the *Palatium*, which Some ſay is the Statue of *Clœlia*, others of *Valeria*. *Porſenna* thus reconcil'd to the *Romans*, oblig'd them with a freſh inſtance of his Generoſity, and commanded his Soldiers to depart the Camp only with their Arms; and leaving their Tents wealthy, and furniſh'd with proviſions, he aſſigned them to the *Romans*. Whence it became cuſtomary afterwards, when any Goods were put up to Sale on Account of the Publick, for the Crier to declare in the firſt Proclamation that they were the Goods of *Porſenna*, thereby to eternize the memory of his kindneſs; and a Statue of him in Braſs was erected cloſe to the Senate-houſe, plain, but of antique faſhion. Afterwards the *Sabins* making Incurſions upon the *Romans*, *M. Valerius*, Brother to *Poplicola*, was made Conſul, and with him *Poſthumius Tubertus*, the chief management of Affairs being ſtill under the Direction of *Poplicola*. *Marcus* obtain'd two great Victories, in the latter of which he ſlew thirteen thouſand *Sabins* without the loſs of one *Roman*, and was rewarded with a Houſe built in the *Palatium* at the publick charge, as an additional honour to his Triumphs; and whereas the Doors of other Houſes open'd inward into the Houſes, they made This to open outward into the Street, as intimating by this privilege, that he was always ready for the publick Service. The ſame faſhion in their Doors the *Greeks* (they ſay) had of old, which appears from their Comedies, wherein Thoſe that are going out make a noiſe at the Door within, to give notice to Thoſe that paſs by or ſtand near the Door, that the opening the Door into the Street might occaſion no ſurpriſal.

The Year after *Poplicola* was made Conſul the fourth time, when a Confederacy of the *Sabins* and *Latins* threatned a War; beſides a ſuperſtitious Fear over-run the City, becauſe all the Women at that time pregnant miſcarried, and no Conception waited its due time. *Poplicola* having thereupon conſulted the Books of the *Sibyls* he ſacrificed to *Pluto*, and renew'd certain obſolete Games, that had heretofore been ordained by an antient Oracle

Oracle of *Apollo*. By theſe Ceremonies he reſtor'd Life to the deſponding City, and having, as he wou'd have it thought, in this manner propitiated the Gods, he then prepar'd to arm himſelf againſt the Menaces of Men; for at that time nothing was talk'd of but formidable Leagues, and warlike Preparations of States confederated againſt the *Romans*. Now there was one *Appius Clauſus* amongſt the *Sabins*, a Man of a great Eſtate and ſtrength of Body, but moſt eminent for his Virtue, and for being an excellent Speaker, who yet could not (what is uſually the fate of great Men) eſcape the envy of Others, which was much occaſioned by his protracting the War: his Enemies inſinuated as if he ſuffer'd the *Romans* to increaſe in Power, that he might have a better opportunity of enſlaving his own Country; and he knowing how readily theſe Reports would be receiv'd by the gaping Multitude, and how offenſive they would be to the Army and the Abettors of the War, was afraid to ſtand a Trial; but having a conſiderable aſſiſtance of Friends and Allies, rais'd a Tumult amongſt the *Sabins*, which delay'd the War. Neither was *Poplicola* wanting, not only to underſtand the grounds of the Sedition, but to promote and increaſe it, and accordingly diſpatch'd Emiſſaries with theſe inſtructions to *Clauſus*, *That* Poplicola *was aſſur'd of his Goodneſs and Juſtice, and thought it even in bad Men unworthy, eſpecially in Him, though injur'd, to ſeek revenge upon his Citizens; yet if he pleas'd for his own ſecurity to leave his Enemies and come to* Rome, *he ſhould be receiv'd, both in publick and private, with that honour his Virtue deſerv'd, and the* Roman *Grandeur requir'd.* *Appius* ſeriouſly weighing thoſe things, which the Neceſſity of his Affairs repreſented to him as a fair Offer, and adviſing with his Friends, and they inviting Others to the ſame perſuaſion, five thouſand Families of them came to *Rome* with their Wives and Children, being a People of a quiet and ſedate Temper. *Poplicola*, advertis'd of their approach, received them with all the kind Offices of a Friend, and enfranchis'd them into the Community, allotting to every one

two

two Acres of Land by the River of *Aniene*, but to *Clauſus* twenty five Acres, and admitted him into the Senate, and made him an Aſſociate in the Government; which he ſo prudently manag'd, that it haſten'd his Preferment, and ſo improv'd his Greatneſs, that his Poſterity the *Claudii* became inferior to no Family in *Rome*.

The departure of theſe Men rendred things quiet amongſt the *Sabins*, yet the chief of the Community would not ſuffer them to ſettle into a Peace, but reſented that *Clauſus*, who by his Preſence could not, ſhould by his Abſence as a Deſerter obſtruct their revenge upon the *Romans* for all their injuries; and coming with a great Army, they encamped near to *Fidenæ*, and plac'd an Ambuſcade of two thouſand Men in the obſcure and hollow places about *Rome* with a deſign that ſome Horſemen ſhould at Day-break make Incurſions, and Forage up to the very Gates of the City, on purpoſe to provoke the *Romans* to ſally out, and then retreating draw them inſenſibly into the Ambuſcade that they had prepared for them. But *Poplicola* having that very Day been advertis'd of their Deſigns by ſome Deſerters, prepar'd himſelf accordingly, and made a Diſpoſition of his Forces. That Evening he detach'd *Poſthumius Balbus* his Son-in-law at the Head of 3000 Foot, with Orders to poſt them on the Hills under which the *Sabins* lay in Ambuſh; and order'd his Collegue *Lucretius*, at the Head of the lighteſt and moſt forward of the Troops, to repulſe the Foragers; whilſt He himſelf with the remainder took a large compaſs, and inclos'd the Enemy in the Rear. The Morning happen'd to be very thick and foggy, and *Poſthumius*, by that time it was light, fell with loud Shouts and Cries from the Tops of the Hills, and aſſail'd the Ambuſcade, whilſt *Lucretius* in the mean time charg'd the light Horſe, and *Poplicola* attacked the Camp of the Enemy. Thus every thing tended to bring the *Sabins* into a general Diſorder, and That which contributed moſt to their Deſtruction was the confidence all had of their Companions being more ſucceſsful; in which perſuaſion,

inſtead of fighting, and making head againſt the Enemy, they all took to their Heels; They in the Camp fled towards the Ambuſcade, and the Ambuſcade endeavour'd to regain the Camp, ſo that Both hop'd for that aſſiſtance which neither was in Condition to give, and they All fell into the Hands of Thoſe they were endeavouring to fly from, who without running any Danger deſtroy'd them. They had been all cut to Pieces, but for the nearneſs of the City *Fidenæ*, which prov'd an Aſylum to ſeveral of them, eſpecially to Thoſe that quitted the Camp when the *Romans* broke into it; but They, who could not recover the City, either periſh'd in the Field, or were taken Priſoners. Tho' the *Romans* uſually aſcrib'd every extraordinary Event to the ſeaſonable Interpoſition of ſome friendly Deity, yet they attributed this Victory to the ſingular Conduct of their Commander. For Thoſe who had been in the Action were heard to ſay openly that *Poplicola* had infatuated their Enemies, and deliver'd them *almoſt fetter'd* into their Hands, to be diſpatch'd by their Swords. The People made themſelves amends for their late Damages, out of the Spoils of the *Sabins*, and the Sale of their Captives; and *Poplicola* having receiv'd a ſecond Triumph, and committed the City into the Hands of Thoſe who were to ſucceed him in the Government, died full of Honours, after a Life well ſpent in the Attainment of every Thing great and deſirable, as much as Man is capable of ſuch Attainments here below. The People, as if they had done nothing in honour of him while he was alive, but as if they were ſtill greatly in his Debt for the many ſignal Services he had render'd them, decreed him an Interment at the publick Charge, every one contributing a ſmall Piece of Money call'd a *Quadrans* towards the Expence. Beſides the Women by common conſent reſolv'd to mourn for him a whole Year, which was a ſingular Inſtance of their Gratitude, and a ſincere Veneration to his Memory. The People alſo ordain'd that he ſhou'd be buried in the City, near the Place call'd *Velia*, and that it ſhou'd remain a Burying-place for his Poſterity to all ſucceeding Generations.

tions. Tho' at preſent none of the Family are interred there. It is true the Corps is carry'd thither in Ceremony, and a Man appointed for that purpoſe places a lighted Torch under it, but ſnatcheth it away immediately. This is done as an Atteſtation of the Privilege due to the deceaſed, and of his receding from that Honour; after which the Body is remov'd, and interr'd without the Walls.

The Compariſon of Poplicola *with* Solon.

THERE appears ſomething ſingular in this Parallel, and what has not occur'd in any other of the Lives we have written; as that the One ſhou'd be the Imitator of the Other, and the Other a ſort of Prophetick Herald of the Worth and Virtue of Him, with whom he is compar'd. It is certain that *Solon*'s Definition of Happineſs is much more applicable to *Poplicola* than *Tellus*. *Solon* ſaith indeed that *Tellus* had been very happy, becauſe he had led a virtuous life, had left Children behind him to ſucceed him, and died honourably in Defence of his Country; yet was he never celebrated in *Solon*'s Poems for a great Man, neither did his Children, or any Employments in the Government, make his Name memorable: But *Poplicola*, while he was alive, was the moſt eminent among the *Romans*, as well for the greatneſs of his Virtue as his Power, and after his Death his Family was accounted among the moſt honourable. Even in our days, the *Poplicolæ*, *Meſalæ*, and *Valerii*, for ſix Hundred Years have acknowledg'd him as the Fountain of their Honour. Tho' *Tellus*, like a gallant Man in the Heat of the Battle maintain'd his Poſt, and fought bravely in Defence of his Country, yet he fell, and was ſlain by his Enemies; whereas *Poplicola* after having ſlain his Enemies, a Circumſtance much happier than to

be slain by them, after having seen his Country victorious, and flourishing through his Conduct and Ministry, and receiv'd the Honours and Triumphs due to such Services, died the Death *Solon* so passionately desired, and which of all Others he thought the most happy. Besides, *Solon*'s Wish, as contain'd in his Answer to *Mimnermus* concerning the End of a Man's Life,

Μηδὲ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
Ποιήσαιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχὰς·

That is, *A Death greatly lamented by ones Friends.*

serves only as a stronger Instance of *Poplicola*'s Felicity in that respect: His Death did not only draw Tears from his Friends and Acquaintance, but became the Object of an universal Complaint and Sorrow through the whole City; for the very Women deplor'd this loss, as of a Son, Brother, or a Common Father. As for Riches, *Solon* said

Χρήματα δ' ἱμείρειν μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ παπᾶθαι
Οὐκ ἐθέλειν.

Wealth I would have, but not unjustly got,
Lest Vengeance shou'd pursue the guilty Purchase:

and *Poplicola*'s Riches were not only the Product of his Justice, but he had likewise the Pleasure of employing them on the Poor, and regulated his Distributions according to the Merits and Necessities of Those he relieved. So that if *Solon* was reputed the wisest Man, we must allow *Poplicola* to be the happiest; for what *Solon* wish'd for as the greatest and most perfect Good, that *Poplicola* in its proper use enjoy'd to his Death: Wherefore *Poplicola* became as well an Honour to *Solon*, as *Solon* to Him, in transmitting the exactest method of modelling a Commonwealth, and stripping the Consulship of its Pride, made it thereby easy and pleasant

to

to the People; he alſo tranſplanted ſeveral of his Laws into *Rome*, ſuch as the impowering the People to elect their Officers, and allowing Offenders the liberty of appealing to the People, as *Solon* had done at *Athens*. *Poplicola* did not indeed create a new Senate, as *Solon* had done, but augmented the old with almoſt a double number. He erected the Office of *Queſtors*; leſt the Conſul, if good, ſhould not have leiſure otherwiſe to attend greater Matters; or if bad, ſhould have any Temptation to Injuſtice, having the Government and Treaſury in his Hands.

The *Averſion to Tyranny* was greater in *Poplicola*: for Whoſoever endeavour'd an Uſurpation, his Puniſhment by *Solon*'s Law commenc'd only upon Conviction; but *Poplicola* made it Death without the Formality of a Trial. And though *Solon* juſtly gloried, that when the publick Exigencies call'd him to it, and the Citizens were diſpos'd to receive him for Maſter, he refus'd the Sovereignity; yet *Poplicola* merited not leſs, who finding a Tyrannical Government, made it mild and popular by not uſing the Authority he might. But we muſt allow, that *Solon* knew this to be the beſt method of governing a State before *Poplicola*: for he ſays,

Δῆμον ὧ δ' ἂν ἴσα συν ἡγεμόνεσιν ἕποιτο,
Μήτε λίαν ἀνειθεὶς, μήτε πιεζόμενον.

An even Hand will an even State maintain,
Not holding looſe, nor yet too ſtrait a Rein.

But the *remiſſion of Debts* was peculiar to *Solon*, which much ſtrengthened the Citizens Liberty; for no Law whatever cou'd ſecure an Equality, if the Debts of the Poor prevented that Equality; becauſe where they ought chiefly to exerciſe their Liberty, as *in Debates, Elections, and Adminiſtrations of Offices*, they would be over-rul'd by the Rich, yielding themſelves to their diſpoſal. But 'tis more extraordinary, that altho' Sedition uſually attends the Remiſſion of Debts, yet he applied

plied it as a Cure for Sedition, his Virtue and Credit were so great as to silence the Clamour which naturally arises upon such Occasions. The beginning of his Government was more glorious, for he was himself an Original, and follow'd no Example, and without the aid of an Ally did great things by his own Conduct: yet the Death of *Poplicola* was more happy and admired; for *Solon* saw the Dissolution of his own Commonwealth, but *Poplicola*'s was preserv'd inviolable till the Civil Wars. *Solon* leaving his Laws engraven in Wood, but destitute of a Defender, departed *Athens*; whilst *Poplicola* by continuing in the Magistracy throughly settled the Government: and tho' *Solon* was sensible of *Pisistratus*'s Ambition, yet he was not able to suppress it, but sunk under the new establish'd Tyranny; whereas *Poplicola* utterly subverted and dissolved a potent Monarchy, strongly settled by long continuance; being nothing inferior to *Solon* in virtue and Disposition, and withal favourably assisted with Power and Fortune to accomplish his virtuous Designs: and as for martial Exploits, *Deimachus Platæensis* does not so much as attribute the Wars against the *Megarenses* to *Solon*, as is before intimated: But *Poplicola* in great Encounters, both as a private Soldier and Commander, obtain'd the Victory. As to the managery of Civil Affairs, *Solon* in a Mimical way, and by a Counterfeit shew of madness solicited the Enterprise of *Salamis*; whereas *Poplicola* in the very beginning, nothing daunted at the greatest Enterprises, oppos'd *Tarquin*, detected the Conspiracy; and being principally concern'd both in preventing the Escape, and afterwards punishing the Traitors; he not only excluded the Tyrants from the City, but frustrated likewise all their Expectations from thence: and in matters of Conflict, Tumult or Opposition, always behav'd himself with Courage and Resolution; and yet in peaceable Debates, where Persuasion and Condescension were requisite, he was much more to be commended; *Porsenna*, a terrible and invincible Enemy, by such means being reconciled and made a Friend. Some may perhaps object, that

Solon

Solon recovered *Salamis* from the *Athenians*, which they had loſt; whereas *Poplicola* receded from part of what the *Romans* were poſſeſs'd of: but Judgment is to be made of Actions according to the Times in which they were perform'd. The Conduct of a wiſe Politician is ever ſuited to the preſent poſture of Affairs, who often by foregoing a part ſaves the whole, and by yielding in a ſmall matter ſecures a greater; as *Poplicola*, who by reſtoring what the *Romans* had lately uſurped, ſaved their undoubted Patrimony; and when They had much to do to ſave their City, he put them in poſſeſſion of the Camp of Thoſe that beſieged it. Permitting alſo the Deciſion of the Controverſy between *Tarquin* and Him to his Adverſary, and being favour'd by the Judge in the Deciſion, he obtain'd as good Terms as a Victory could have procured; *Porſenna* putting an end to the War, and leaving them all the Proviſion of his Camp, through a perſuaſion of the Virtue and gallant Diſpoſition of the *Romans*, which the Conſul had impreſs'd upon him.

The End of the Firſt Volume.